

**SELECTED MESSAGES
AND
SPEECHES
OF
IMAM KHOMEINI**

**The Ministry of National Guidance
Tehran, Iran**



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Introduction

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

48 *And who is better in speech than he who calls unto God and does good
and says, 'Verily, I am of the Moslems.'* 941:33)

50 In the history of peoples and communities, sensitive moments and
turning points always exist and in those moments, objective and subjective
55 conditions prepare for real transformation and a fundamental and
basic revolution. But the extent to which this revolution and transformation
can take place in these moments most certainly depends upon
67 the extent to which the people of this nation and community have
found subjective transformations and changes in belief and to what extent
they believe in their goals, ideals, desires and finally the belief in
the fact that their destiny takes shape by means of their own hands. In
order to change the present situation into the desired state, to what
75 extent are they prepared to put forth efforts and self-sacrifice.

Without doubt, the present Islamic community is passing through
one of these sensitive moments and turning points. The future will
show that we Moslems, at the present time, are standing upon one of
79 the most determinating culminating points of the history of Islam. The
direction and way of the future of Islam, more than at any other time,
depends upon the will power, faith and efforts of today's Moslems.

82 The existing context — whether internally within the Islamic community
or on a global scale — is completely prepared for a revolution and deep
transformation in the complex of the world of Islam. The extent to which
85 the Moslems themselves shared in the bringing about of this suitable
context is not important (The important thing is that existing conditions
which essentially stem from unavoidable political and economic transformations
89 of the most recent years of our world. result in a kind of severe dependence
of third world countries upon developed countries, prepares a suitable
context towards a transformation and change to the advantage of freedom
and real independence of the whole of the third world and, in particular,
91 the world of Islam.)

Fortunately, the world of Islam has ample privileges in comparison
94 to other third world countries whose efforts are put forth for freedom
and independence. The most important of these privileges is Islam as a
freedom-giving school of thought and a way of life and Islamic culture
which acts as a rich and fertile support. Without doubt, if Moslems decide
to stand upon their own feet and find their own real identity and
without fear or the feeling of inferiority and inadequacy, lean upon

3rd world
independence

their religion and culture not only will they be able to free themselves from the claws of colonialism, stagnation and backwardness which have gripped them for more than two centuries, but they can simply develop themselves into the form of a 'force and a third power'.

In order to transform the world of Islam into a third force which taking into consideration its possibilities and its natural wealth, can easily be changed into the most powerful pole of the world. They are lacking nothing other than will power, faith, self-reliance and continuous efforts, faith in religion and one's school of thought, faith in culture and one's authentic, historical identity and finally faith in the fact that one must build one's destiny oneself and not that one be a toy in the hands of the powers and super-powers.

In the midst of this, Islam, this most perfect and highest of revealed religions and also the culture of Islam are endless sources which can help the community of Islam seek its freedom from the bonds of colonialism and backwardness. But the important point is here that if the two are not understood correctly, not only will they not help the greatness, independence and self-sufficiency of the Moslem community, but it is possible that they will lead them to their further and more severe dependence.

The explanation of this point that the understanding and comprehension of Moslems of Islam and Islamic culture, in particular, that of the intellectual and educated Moslems in this century, takes time. How are they effected by the criteria, rules and finally, the taste of and the particular view of Western culture? To what extent does this view lead to metamorphosis and the altering of Islam? To sum up, it must be said that this problem exists and it itself is one of the most important factors, perhaps, the most important factor because efficiency and the thundering force of Islam, this Divine generosity in the freeing of the Islamic community, has been down away with. In truth, this is the erroneous use and incorrect interpretation of Moslems which did away with the great force and the force of being a builder of destiny of Islam

and they continue to do so, otherwise, Islam is that very religion which throughout its history, in whatever time that it was correctly comprehended and interpreted, it was a factor of glory, greatness and the happiness of Moslems. Thus, the present most essential and immediate duty of we Moslems is that we correct our comprehension and understanding of Islam which is powerfully effected by the spirit of our times and that is effected by Western culture. From another point of view, to what extent can Moslems make use of Islam as a religion, creative school of thought and the giving of freedom and of the culture of Islam as a rich and fertile support towards its salvation and independence. It most certainly depends upon to what extent they can free themselves from the bonds of suppositions, pre-judgments, the feelings of inferiority and finally fear and inferiority in face of others and the activation of the spirit of the dominated of our time.

The individuals of a community who desire independence must have first reached independence. Independence, before being economic and political, is intellectual and cultural. An independent people and community need independent people and people are independent who do not fear singularity and independence. The individual who is captive of his own subjective suppositions, the suppositions which directly and indirectly come about by means of colonialists and their propaganda and captive of the inferiority complex and inadequacies and all of his efforts are this that however much he builds himself according to the tastes of others, however much his faith and beliefs and finally, religion, history and his personality is altered and destroyed, he cannot be independent. Such a person cannot defend the independence of his nation and community. A nation and a community can be independent who at least respects himself, he takes on the form of self-respect. Self-respect means respect of principles, criteria, genuine ideals and his non-alteration. No people or community can attract the respect of another to an extent greater than his own self-respect.

Let us shorten our words. Until the time that each individual of a nation does not reach independence and obtain the state of self-respect and his principles and criteria and he has not re-found his personality and real identity and has not found faith in his return to the

self of himself, his religion, history and his culture, speaking about independence will be no more than a falsity or, at the most, a slogan. Those people and that community is independent which, without any fear or awe intends to live by his culture, and ideals and not that he makes useless efforts so that it corresponds to criteria and other's tastes and which not only do they not have any relationship to his culture and religion, but they are essentially opposed and even in contradiction to them.

More frightening than this is that not only does he live according to the tastes of others, but, in order to make it acceptable to others, he explains his religion, history and culture in such a way, or let's say, alters it in such a way and takes pride in the very metamorphosized religion, history and culture which have been metamorphosized by his own hands. He forgets that before pride in such a religion and culture is an honor to that religion and culture because of its inherent values, it is an honor which has been poured into the framework and criteria which is shown as being progressive and making it acceptable depends upon those criteria which can be researched and, more correctly, have been altered.

For the correct understanding and analysis of this problem of the fact that our understanding of Islam and Islamic culture is effected by criteria, tastes and special methods of the West, we must know the culture of the West and its peculiarities. This is outside the scope of our discussion. But why should we hide it? Essentially, this culture, these rules, criteria and world view and way of thinking, if they are completely against the rules, the world view of religion and the substance of religion, in particular, Islam, they are at best, most often, opposite.

The essential substance of each religion is nothing more than faith in God and that the human being must live for the sake of God and according to God's commands which are nothing other than those religious commands. Thus the message of each religion is that the human being yields to God and His commands while the essential kernel of today's way of thinking rests upon a kind of centering on humanity

and it is upon this principle that the new culture and civilization have taken shape and its rules and criteria are brought into being. This has progressed to the point that people of our times think that it is even this religion which must serve people and not the opposite. the method of study and way of thinking of contemporary beings is incapable of comprehending the real identity of religion. To what extent is it barren and incapable?

Here the discussion is not about the truth of religion. The discussion is about the fact that if we want to understand this religion, understand it as it is and not as we want it to be or we expect it to be, our study of it must be based upon its spirit and criteria. This question, in particular, in knowing Islam encounters more importance. This stems from the spread and depth of knowing Islam. That is, not only in the relationship of man and God spoken about, but also all of the problems which a human being encounters with them. They have a kind of cosmology, historiology, anthropology and finally, a theology which are particular and which do not have the slightest similarity with that which the new culture has expressed about this.

Now if we have accepted that Islam is a widespread complex which has a particular method of understanding and interpretation of the world, history and human beings. this method has no similarity with the new way of thinking. Thus, why should we study it from behind rose colored glasses where the color of the glass determines the view of the world, criteria, and rules of the new culture. Worse than this, in order to prove its identicalness, we attempt to explain it and interpret it. Is not the least danger of such a study the alteration of Islam?

It is our duty to make Islam be known correctly and not to make it acceptable. When the aim became to defend Islam by making it acceptable then it is Islam which is the sacrifice of the tastes and criteria of others. In this way, not only have we altered Islam but we have proved self-loss and we have given rise to feelings of inferiority and self-inadequacies. The person who is attached to his beliefs simply because it is acceptable by others, even though this taste is inherently against the substance of those beliefs, in truth, the taste of others makes his per-

sonality and authenticity. This tells of the greatest extent of inferiority and self-inadequacy.

These words are not only correct about the study of Islam, but also correct about the study of Islamic culture. The principles of thinking and world view of the West is based upon a kind of self-centeredness and absoluteness. Not only does he look out upon the whole of the world and history solely from the window of his culture, civilization and interests, but, essentially, he knows his culture and civilization to be of the highest ever born. That is, not only does he understand the past history and legacy of others in relationship to the special growth of his culture and civilization, but the principle of his judgment about them is based upon the fact that this culture and civilization in total to what extent is it agreeable and in accordance with his personality criteria and tastes.

From another point of view, the clear-sightedness and way of thinking of the West in knowing other cultures and, in particular, the culture of Islam, depends upon a kind of selected knowing along with pre-judgment. That is, in the first place, from that which we call Islamic culture and which has come into being 14 centuries ago, only choose those elements which in his opinion have played a role in the growth of Western culture. Secondly, he looks with a kind of pre-judgment, the pre-judgment of which is influenced by knowing the value system and his tastes. In his opinion, the value of this culture is suitable with the balance of its harmony with that very particular taste and his own criteria.

With such a method, what value can studying Islamic culture or any other culture have? To what extent does it have the qualification to tell of the truth and nature of this culture? The truths and realities will only be understood when, in the first place, they are studied in their totality and completeness. And secondly, they are studied and researched with attention to its spirit and particular criteria.

It is most unfortunate that most of the almost unanimous Moslem intellectuals and educated people with such a view and criteria which in the first place, is strongly quantital and secondly, is strongly influenced by pride and unlimited prejudice of the West. They have studied

Islam and Islamic culture and continue to study it. More unfortunate than this is that they never doubt their method of knowing and essentially, is their method right or wrong. Based upon such a knowing, they want to save their society.

If Islam is just and valuable, it is because of its inherent values and truths and not because it suits the criteria of others. Attempts towards proving the truths or valuableness of Islam by showing its harmoniousness with other cultures and schools of thought, rather than outwardly defending Islam, is an implied defense of those schools of thought and cultures. If we know Islam to be just, it is other thoughts and schools of thoughts which must be measured with it and not Islam with them. These words in particular are more important when speaking about Islam because Islam is eternal, it is a Divine religion, revealed to a creature whom God sent for the guidance and happiness of human beings which is the source of all perfection. Thus, in the same way that God is the gathering of all absolute perfections, Islam is also the gathering of all absolute perfections as well as Islamic culture. Without doubt, Islamic society cannot find its way without the help of its culture which is the heritage of 14 centuries of struggle and activities. But the question is this that these cultures can only help the Islamic community when they are understood in totality and completeness and with attention to their spirit, nature and criteria.

The value of this culture as a rich, historic support and also as a solution for the future of the Islamic community, relates to its essence and nature and not because it helped new cultural growth. Of course, this does not mean that Islamic culture has no value because of its help in bringing about the new culture. Rather, the question is this that this is just one of the values of this culture and not all of them. Pretending greatness and relying upon this segment not only does not help the better knowing of the value of the greatness and glory of the Islamic culture, rather, in that way, other segments are not taken into consideration. Its least result is the ignoring of the highest and most valuable segments of this culture which have no effect, from the point of view of measuring by quantity, in the bringing about of the new culture.

Let us speak more briefly and frankly. We are Moslems and followers of the Qoran. The person who believes in Islam must accept all of it. The Qoran strongly criticizes people who accept some part of it and ignore other parts. Thus, if we have accepted the Qoran in totality and completely, the Qoran frankly states, 'Verily this Qoran guide unto that which is the most upright and announces glad tidings unto the believers who do good that they shall have a great reward.' (17:9).

Tens of verses and hundreds of Traditions can be found similar to this which, in a direct and indirect way, give reasoning for this subject. Now if we have accepted these subjects, we must seriously, in our understanding and comprehension, revise our view of Islam. It is not that the Qoran says, 'And lose you not heart and grieve you not, for you shall gain the upper hand, if you only be true believers.' (3:139). Is it not that the Qoran frankly says, 'Ye shall gain the upper hand if you only be true believers.'?! What is the result of these words? Is it other than that if we are not believers thus we do not have the upper hand? Is it not that the Qoran says about the Islamic community 'You are the best group that has been brought forth for mankind.' (3:110) or it says, 'But for God is all honor and for His Prophet and for the believers.' (63:8).

These verses can serve as good examples of our incorrect comprehension of Islam and our imperfect faith towards Islam. Thus, in the first place, we must revise our understanding and faith towards Islam. If this word does not take form today, tomorrow will be too late. It is not clear whether or not in the near future such an opportunity will be obtained like the present one so that the community of Islam can take advantage of its independence, freedom, glory and greatness.

Yes. It would be tragic if the powerful and thundering of the 'revival of Islam' which in the last few years has spread throughout the Islamic world and reached its climax with the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, is silenced unless it achieve a correct interpretation of Islam and Islamic culture. Every social flow, necessarily must have a suitable support system as to thought and belief, otherwise, sooner or later, it will be destroyed. History remembers many strong will powers – builders of destiny – which have been silenced because they

could not contain its thought and culture.

The strong wave of the 'revival of Islam' results from the firm will and thunderous pure feelings which are urgently needed for a correct interpretation of Islam and Islamic culture. This duty, in the first place, calls the attention of the religious scholars (*ulama*) and Moslem thinkers who can however quickly offer the interpretation to eager Moslems. The religious scholars and responsible thinkers with faith who have no purpose other than serving Islam and Moslems and who were always firm like a mountain, they feared no blame from any accusers, and introduced Islam as it really is and not as they wanted it to be or that they accepted it to be. Neither do they fear from the dominating power of the attractive forces of Western culture nor are they subdued by power and bewitched by the East and West, rather they lean upon Islam and rely on God, the Most High.

What is the explanation of the role of Islam in bringing about the Revolution of Iran and the reason why this Revolution is an Islamic will be lengthy. But, in summary, it must be said that this revolution resulted from the sacrifice, perseverance and the seeking of martyrdom of the people who knew and still know that their ideals and ideas are crystallized and embodied in Islam, the people who did not think about anything other than Islam and still do not. Those people wanted Islam and nothing else. Thus, their Revolution was for the establishment of a just Islamic government before it was a toppling of the filthy, hired Pahlavi dynasty and the anti-Islamic sinister regime of the monarchy. Essentially, they opposed the Pahlavi regime which was a barrier towards the establishment of an Islamic government for, in essence, it was Islam and nothing else.

Yes. It was Islam that not only gave perseverance to the people of Iran when confronted by the most savage and tragic massacres, plunder and murder but also it made them withstand penetration when confronted by the conspiracies and the propaganda of the earth-devourers against them. Thus, the Islamic Revolution of Iran whether before victory or after victory was not only inclined towards the super-powers but even by leaning upon Islam and its Islamic identity, it stood against them.

THE FIRST DAY OF GOD'S RULE

The most important slogans of the Revolution of Iran, whether before or after the Revolution are the slogans of 'independence, freedom, Islamic Republic'. The victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran proved its correctness in the best form possible. They would not have known Islam if it had, from the point of view of the Iranian nation, been less interpreted as the embodiment of the complex of their ideals and ideas and Islam as the container of all of their desires. This Revolution, without doubt, would not have achieved victory. This Revolution, in the first place, is Islamic for the reason that Islam was not only the means for achieving other goals, but from the point of view of the Iranian nation, it was a goal which with its accomplishments, all other desires were realized.

Without doubt, in bringing about this way of thinking and following it, this Islamic Revolution of Iran with the guidelines of the leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini, has played a most sensitive role and has been an essential determining factor. The most important particularities of Imam Khomeini is his true faith in Islam and his active commitment to it and his incomparable trust in God, the Most High. The most important particularity of his understanding of Islam is that this interpretation and way of understanding is in no way effected by Western culture. For him, Islam is pertinent and not something else. The best witness for this subject are his messages, writings and more important than all of these, his behaviour and his way of life. Thus, careful consideration of his views and messages will not only effectively help in the better and deeper understanding of the Revolution of Iran, but also it will help with the correct understanding of Islam and essentially, religion.

The present collection which has been gathered for the above mentioned reasons, are only a very small part of his speeches and messages after the victory of the Revolution with the hope that they can be effective in providing a direction for growth and further richness of the Islamic movement.

'And among them there are some who say, 'Our Lord! Give us good in this world and good in the hereafter and save us from the torment of the Fire.' (2:201)

April 3, 1979. Imam Khomeini issued an announcement in which he declared the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

*And We intend to bestow Our favour upon those who
were considered to be deprived in the land
and to make them the Imams [guides in faith]
and to make them heirs. (28:5)*

I congratulate the Iranian nation which has been downgraded during the long monarchical period. The Almighty God helped us to destroy the old tyrannical regime with our strong hands which is the power of the deprived. With the establishment of the Islamic Republic, you granted them this real legacy. I announce the Islamic Republic of Iran on this blessed day, the day of the leadership of the community, the day of the victory of the people. I announce to the world that such a referendum has never been experienced in the history of Iran.

I announce to the world that in the history of Iran such a referendum has never been held when the people from one end of the country to the other with eagerness and love went to the voting polls and gave their positive vote and there the tyrannical regime of the monarchy was thrown into the waste basket of oblivion forever.

I appreciate the unique solidarity which, other than a fistful of adventurers and people without knowledge of God, all cried out to the heavens, 'accepted' (*labaika*) and with a unanimous vote, gave a positive response for the Islamic Republic and proved their political growth and social growth to both the West and the East.

Blessings upon you the day that, after the martyrdom of our courageous young people and the unlimited sufferings of the mothers and fathers, struck down the monstrous enemy, the Pharaoh of our time and with a overwhelming vote for the Islamic Republic, you an-

nounced the government of Divine Justice, a government in which all sections of the population can be seen with one view. The light of Divine Justice falls upon all evenly. The rain of Compassion of the Holy Qoran and the Traditions falls upon everyone evenly. Blessings be upon you for such a government where differences of races and black and white, Turk or Fars, Kurd or Baluch, is not debated. All are brothers and equal. Blessings exist in piety, higher ethical virtues and good deeds. Blessings upon you for the day when all of the sections of the population reached their real rights.

There is no difference between man and woman, or between religious minorities and others. The tyrant has been buried. Rebellion has been buried after him. The country is saved from internal and external foreign enemies and plunderers.

Now you, the courageous nation, are guardians of the Islamic Republic. You should preserve this divine gift firmly and do not let it be taken by opportunists and remnants of the old regime, who are sitting in and around the capital, agents of the international pirates and devourers of oil and money. It is you who must take your fate in your hands and not let others trade your unity. With strength from the Divine Spirit, you must not give the opportunists a chance. With strength from the Divine Spirit, the manifestation of which is assembling, take the next steps.

You should send your trustees to the constituent assembly to ratify the constitution of the Islamic Republic. In the same way that you voted for the Islamic Republic, vote for the trustees so that no opportunity be given to mischievous people.

The 12th of Farvardin (April 1st) which is the first day of God's Rule is one of the greatest religious and national festivals. Our people must celebrate this day as a festival and keep it alive, the day when the 2500 year old tyrannical monarchy fell and the satanic domination was put aside forever and the rule of the deprived which is the Rule of God, sat in its place. Oh, beloved people who achieved your rights with the blood of your youth, guard this right dearly. Implement the Divine Justice under the banner of Islam and the Holy Qoran and support it. With all of my strength, these last days of my life, I am at your service which is to serve Islam. I expect from the people that with all of their strength, they will guard Islam and the Islamic Republic.

My brothers! It is not too late, no matter what class you come from, to come and act in a brotherly way with these people on their behalf. None of you are among this group here. Come and join these people. Be of one voice. Come. Be loyal to Islam which saved all of you with gratefulness to the blessings of Islam. Exist for Islam. My brothers, whatever you want, Islam has. That which you want is in a corner of these schools. See their way of life and compare it to those whose hearts beat for humanity, that is, with the pen, with expression, see what state they are in. See what the life of the clergyman is. See what the life of this worker and peasant is. See what the life of a tradesman is. Think for them.

To pick up the pen and write against Islam in the name of human rights and by virtue of being a lawyer is not to sympathize. Have you spent anything from your pockets for these people? I refer to your conscience. The ones whose hearts sympathize with these poverty-stricken human beings are the women who live around Qom and women in the south of all towns, south as you mean it, they are from the lower class. They know what humanity is and they act with it. They hold their gold jewelry for housing for the poor people. Join with these poor people. Become one with their path. I do not say, 'Give money.' But rather, give your pens and your beliefs. Preserve Islam. Islam is good for you. It is good for your world. (Even if you do not accept the Day of Judgment, it is good for your world) Do not oppose the clergymen. This is good for your world. There are progressive clergymen who live in small schools, two or three people live there, who were thrown out by the shah.

The slum dwellers around cities where seven or eight people live in a hole in the wall, they know human rights better than we do. They are a group who sympathize with humanity. They are the group for human rights, not you and I. Come and do something for them. The people and the government should do something for them. They have rights. Give them their rights. They have human rights. Give them their rights. They have human rights. Give them to them. I advise you people who sit together every few days, I want all of you to be happy. I advise you not to separate your way from Islam. Do not separate your

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way from Islam. Do not separate your way from spirituality.

The strength of spirituality is a Divine strength. Do not p
aside. If this strength leaves you, you will be nothing. It is the stre
of spirituality which pulls people to the streets. It is the strengt
Islam which comes from the throat of spirituality. Do not break thi

I ask the government, without fear of the East or the West, inde
independence, will and thought to clean out the remains of the ty
nical regime whose remains have roots throughout the country,
culture and justice and other government ministries and offices w
are based upon Western models and 'westoxication' be changed
Islamic forms and show the world the social justice and cultural,
nomic and political independence.

I ask God, the Most High, to preserve the greatness and inde
dence of the country and the community.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

THE DEPRIVED WILL DOMINATE THE ARROGANT

April 3, 1979. Imam Khomeini in a radio television announcement,
officially announced the establishment of the Islamic Republic of
Iran and the 12th of Farvardin (April 1st) is confirmed as the be-
ginning of the Islamic Republic and the day of the festival of Iran-
ians.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

God, the Most High, has promised that the deprived of the earth,
with His Help and His Grace, will dominate upon the arrogant. God will
make them the Imams (guides in faith). The promise of God is at hand.
I hope that I will witness this promise and the deprived will dominate
upon the arrogant as they have until now. The way that we have gone
so far was in obedience of Islam and its laws. We must introduce Islam
to the world. If Islam is introduced to the world the way that it really
is, the world will turn its attention to Islam. The goods of Moslems are
precious goods but they must be offered.

I thank all of the people of Iran that they participated in this
referendum and that they gave their overwhelming vote, which must
be said was totally victorious. They gave their formal vote in an over-
whelming way to the Islamic Republic even though they had previously
given their vote informally. We saw no need for this referendum but in
order to cut off some of the discussions and excuses, a referendum was
held. Those who made excuses, found that the situation was not as
they thought it was and the people are one with Islam and the spiritua-
lity of Islam. The people want the principles of the Holy Qoran to be
applied in Iran.

Thanks be to God, with happiness and love, all groups of the peo-
ple throughout Iran voted for Islam and not anything else. It is a Repu-
blic of Islam which can implement all Islamic purposes. It is a Republic
of Islam and its progressive laws which are higher than all laws which
exist in other sections and schools of thought. We see that the claimants

for democracy speak, pretend, but their schools of thought are one in the West and another in the East. In the East, their people are confronted by great dictatorship. In the West, it is the same.

We see some of the people who claim that we pay attention to human rights and societies of human rights throughout these fifty years when the usurping government of Pahlavi and the son of Pahlavi dominated upon these people and took the wealth of the people with complete anger. Throughout these fifty years, our young people passed their time in prisons. We even had young people in prisons whose legs were sawed off. They burned their backs. They were in prison and being tortured until the end. The savages of the deposed shah cut them off from life.

We did not see these claimants of human rights speak once during this whole time or reject their existence. We saw that the President of the U.S. went along with and supported this criminal shah. He supported the savageness. They threw all of our things to the winds. We did not see the claimants of human rights reject the President. Now that the executioners have fallen into the laps of the people and the people want revenge from them, their cries of 'Woe to this and that,' are being heard.

I cannot know this to be anything but that they are agents of the executioners. They are agents of the super-powers. It is not that they are active for human rights. I had hoped that if the Human Rights Society speaks the truth and they support human rights, they would object to us saying, 'Why have you kept them? These executioners should have been killed the first day.' Their opinion should not have been that we should not have kept them in prison as they are now. Our prisons are not like the former prisons.

There are prisons where the imprisoned are in no way insulted. But they object to us saying, 'why have you tried them?' There is no meaning in trying those who are guilty. The trying of those who are guilty is against the principles of human rights. Real human rights demands that we execute them the first day because they were guilty and it is clear that they are guilty.

The one who must have a lawyer provided and one's claim must be

heard is an accused person or one charged with a crime and not an obviously guilty person. They are not accused with a crime, rather, they are obviously guilty of crime. These were people who tortured and killed people in the streets. They took away whatever we had. Weren't those people killed in the streets of the towns, human beings? Do they have no rights? Why is it that these claimants of human rights do not support these people? Why do they find fault with us saying, 'Why do you kill executioners?' At the same time that we know them to be obviously guilty and only their identity must be clarified, once their identity is clear, they should be executed. Once Nassiri's [the head of the former SAVAK] identity was proven, he must be executed. In spite of this, they still kept him for a few days. They tried him. They recorded his confession. Then they executed him.

Does the Human Rights Society not conceive of the fact that the guilty must be executed in order to protect human rights, the human beings whom they killed, tortured and did away with. We try these people in spite of this and we tried them but our belief is that an obviously guilty person does not have a trial. They must be executed.

I am sorry that we still have 'westoxication' amongst us and we still fear, lest Western newspapers write things or that, for instance, a Western magazine, write something. They are, of course, opposed to justice and equity. They do not agree with human rights. They protect the rights of the super-powers in the name of human rights...In any case, praise be to God, we were victorious in the referendum. The words written in foreign media and things that were said, are proven to be null and void. Praise be to God, our people gave an almost unanimous vote for the Islamic Republic and from now on, it is up to the people to implement the Islamic Republic.

In the Islamic Republic, all the problems which exist in Iran must be transformed. Our dependent universities must be changed into independent universities. All the things that existed under the tyrannical government and in obedience to foreigners in this weak country were implemented upon this inferior country. With the establishment of the Islamic government and the Islamic Republic, all of these must be revolutionized. People must correct themselves.

People who are oppressive and who commit oppressive acts towards their inferiors must no longer commit oppressive acts. Various groups must not commit oppression towards the lower groups. The rights of the poor, rights of the poverty-stricken must be given to them. All of these must be activated in the Islamic Republic.

The people have the duty to support the governments in an Islamic Republic which serves the people. If they see that a government is going astray, the people must stop them. If you see a despotic government which wants to commit oppression towards others, you must complain and object and the courts must give them their rights. If they do not do this, the people themselves must do it, must deter them.

In an Islamic Republic, there is no oppression. In an Islamic Republic, situations of forcefulness do not exist. The rich cannot speak forcibly to the poor. They cannot exploit them. They cannot make them work for little wages. Islamic problems must be solved and implemented here. The deprived must be strengthened and transformed. The arrogant must become as the deprived and the deprived must be elevated, not like the arrogant but rather, like brothers and live in this country together.

I say to all groups of the nation that in an Islamic Republic, there are no privileges between the rich and the poor, the white and the black, Sunni and Shi'a, Arab and non-Arab, Turk and other than Turk. The Holy Quran gives privileges to justice and piety. The person who is pious has privileges. The person who is of good spirit has privileges. But these privileges do not relate to material things, to property. If they exist, these privileges must be done away with. All people are equal to one another. They are all given equal rights. They are all equal. The rights of religious minorities will be preserved. Islam respects them. It respects all groups, the Kurds and other groups who have a different language are all our brothers. We are with them and they are with us. We all belong to one nation, to one faith.

I hope that in various parts of Iran, where agitators propagated against us, and they force the poor people to rebel and kill their brothers, people should awaken and not allow these provocators to do these acts. We are all brothers. We are brothers with the Sunnis and we

must not claim to be better than they are. We must not. Rights of some. We are equal in the law and the law which will, the Will of God, be approved by the people, has attended to the rights of all religious minorities, women, and other groups have had their rights attended to.

There is no difference between one group and another in Islam. Only with piety and with the consciousness of God is there a difference made. We hope that God, the Most High and Exalted, will continue to give success. We have brought the Islamic Republic to this point.

I announce the Islamic Republic and know this day to be a day of festival (*id*). I hope that every year, the 12th of Farvardin (April 1st) will be the day of our nation who reached their national strength and that they take their destiny in their own hands. We congratulate all of the nation. Blessings be upon you and this festival. Blessings be upon this Islamic Republic.

All are obliged to follow Islamic rules. Our market must be an Islamic market. It must be cleaned of all inequities. All present governmental ministries and governmental offices and all future ones must be based upon Islamic principles. A country which has a tyrannical form must be changed to a country which has a Divine form.

We do not care what the West says about us. We do not care about those who claim to support human rights who find fault with us. We must act according to justice. We will eventually have them understand the meaning of democracy. The democracy of the West and of the East are both corrupt. Islamic democracy is correct. Later, if we succeed, we will prove to the East and the West that the democracy which we have is a democracy not that which you have and the supporters of large capitalists have and not that which they have and the supporters of the super-powers who have placed all people in great suffocation.

In Islam there is no suffocation. In Islam there is freedom for all groups — women, men, black, white, for all. People from now on must fear for themselves, not from the government. They must prevent themselves from going astray.

A just government prevents 'going astray'. A just government retaliates. We must prevent ourselves from going astray as an Islamic government.

ament of itself will not go astray. There is no longer the question of a security organization. The tortures of SAVAK no longer exist. Police men can no longer speak forcibly to us and our nation. The government can no longer speak forcibly to the people. A government in an Islamic Republic is in the service of the people. They must serve the people and even if a Prime Minister should commit oppression against a nation, they will take him to court and if his crime is proven, they will implement the decision. It is no longer that in Islam a difference be made between a Prime Minister and others. The Caliph, at the beginning of Islam, went to court when a dispute arose with a disbeliever. The judge ruled and the Caliph accepted. Islam is like this.

☆ Islam does not provide a high place for a special group. For the group of pious scholars, of course, there is a higher spiritual station, because the stage of humanity is of a higher station. Islam respects the humanity of human beings. The humanity of human beings is to be with knowledge and piety. A person who has knowledge and piety is above others. A person who, no matter how much he has, has no piety, has absolutely no respect in Islam.

In any case, I ask the people of the nation to change themselves. Change the spirit they had during the time of the tyrant into an Islamic spirit. Now, in Iran, we have many poverty-stricken people. We have many people who became deprived during the Revolution. Those who 'have' must help them and provide them with a better way of life. The government must be thinking about them. The people must be thinking about them and build them houses, build a good life for them, build a correct life for all employees.

Several days ago, a group of factory owners came to see me. I said to them, 'You yourselves must correct things. Hold a meeting among yourselves and discuss and put up the capital so that you can build housing for the workers and employees of these factories. Provide them with a better life. If you do not, it is possible that, God forbid, they rebel and if they rebel, we can no longer prevent them.'

I say to all workers and employees that, with the Will of God, Iran will give work to you. Islam will provide you with work. Islam will pro-

vide you with a better life. Islam will build you housing. Islam thinks more about the poverty-stricken than about others. I ask God, the Most High and Exalted, on this festival which is the day of victory of our nation to give success to all Moslems. I hope that other Moslem countries will join together and curtail the hands of tyrants from their countries, as well.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

WHAT WAS THE ORIGIN OF THE 15TH OF KHORDAD?

June 5, 1978. On the occasion of the 15th of Khordad (June 5, 1963) Imam Khomeini addressed the crowds gathered in Qom to commemorate the martyrs of that day.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

What was the origin of the 15th of Khordad? Why did it happen? What was its purpose then and now and in the future? Who brought about the 15th of Khordad? Who followed it and who is following it now? After this, in whom can we place our hope? What was the purpose of the 15th of Khordad up to now and in the future?

Know and understand the 15th of Khordad, who initiated it, who has continued its legacy. Know those in whom there is the hope of maintaining it in the future, and know those who opposed the 15th of Khordad and their purpose.

The 15th of Khordad began from this place, the Faiziyeh School. There was a great gathering on A'shura in the afternoon. Following the speeches, disclosures were made which, when pursued, led to the 15th of Khordad. The 15th of Khordad was for Islam and was in the name of Islam, and it came about because of this basis and the guidance of the clergy. It was the same classes who are now represented here that brought about the 15th of Khordad, the same classes and groups who were killed. These groups of Islamic people arose for Islam: Islam was their sole purpose. They brought about the 15th of Khordad. It is this same populace with the ideology of Islam, that has, until the present day, continued the 15th of Khordad, there is hope that they will bring our movement to fruition.

We must examine who this populace is — who brought about the 15th of Khordad, and, as evidenced, sacrificed 15,000 lives. What group of society were they who after the 15th of Khordad and other 15th of Khordads and after the massacre of the 15th of Khordad and other massacres, entered the battlefield? No one else has any rights. Those

who brought about the 15th of Khordad, those who helped it, who were active in breaking the regime's barrier are from this very group, those who cried out *allaho akbar* (God is Greater). No one else has any rights.

Now to the topic of those who are deviating from the path of the people and who wish also to pull the people away from this path and to cause the Islamic movement to put aside Islam. There are groups that are ignorant and unaware of the circumstances, and there are groups that are intentionally and actively opposing Islam. Those who are ignorant should be guided. They should be told, 'Do you think that there is anything but Islam which can take the movement forward in Iran? You who think that something other than Islam brought down the regime, who brought about the 15th of Khordad? Those who suggest the possibility that non-Moslems were influential in this, should study and examine the graves of those who gave their lives and were martyred on the 15th of Khordad. Who were they? If you find one tombstone of a non-Moslem, they also participated. If, from among the Moslems, you have one from the upper classes, they also participated. But you will not find one. All are from the lower classes, the peasants and workers, the merchants and Moslem tradesmen.

The committed clergy and those classes brought about the 15th of Khordad through following Islam, and by following it, they preserved and protected it. They are still doing this. Those who think that forces other than Islam could break down such a barrier are mistaken. Those groups who, because of their opposition to Islam, are against us, must be guided. Otherwise, they will be destroyed by the same fist that destroyed the regime [i.e., the people]. Those who were outside of this rank have no rights. They have no rights in this movement.

From the 15th of Khordad to the present, what has come into being has been achieved by the activity of this class, and their blood and sacrifice. They have the right to vote on anything which must now come about. Those who were outside of the ranks and have now entered them have no rights to this movement, and their views carry no weight. The views of those people who brought the movement and broke the big powers and continued the struggle, all rights belong to

them. Your opponents were silent. The opponents of you oppressed people suffered no pain. They suffered no pain during the tyrant's time either, because they were obedient and they agreed or they were silent. Now that you have prepared the table, they join you for their own advantage. If only they would allow you to participate. But they say, 'Us, yes! You, no!' We and the clergy, no. We and other groups, no. They want everything for themselves. We and Islam, no.

Human rights want the rights of the super-powers. You westernized Iranians, you foreigners, you empty humans, come to yourselves. Don't westernize everything: observe the things that are in the West. Look at the human rights groups to see what types of people they are and what are their aims. Do they wish to preserve human rights or the rights of the super-powers? They follow the super-powers, and push for their rights. You lawyers, don't follow these western lawyers in their kind of human rights. You must apply human rights as did the struggling groups of uprising Iranians, since they strove for and worked for human rights. They provide peace and comfort to humans while you only talk. They put their actions into effect.

These workers, these peasants, are the true human rights groups. They put into practice and you write. None of you actively pursue the attainment of human rights. Those who are active in this very group which has arisen today and arose on the 15th of Khordad. They are the ones concerned about humans, because they are Moslems and Islam is concerned with humanity. You whose path is not Islam, do nothing for humanity — you write and want to cause the movement to deviate. With your words you want to cause the movement to deviate. We have no rights. From the 15th of Khordad until today, you have given blood. I who sit here, I have no rights. It is you who spilt your blood and went to the battlefield and struggled. We have no rights. We must serve you. We must not take advantage of you and give ourselves titles. Woe be unto me if I should take advantage of you or give myself titles, when you spilled your blood.

The members of the upper classes who played no active role, not opposed them, have no rights, and shouldn't have. If they now do their duty, though, they will earn the rights. If from now on, they serve, they

will gain rights. Those who have devious intentions, those who want to commit treachery against Islam and this nation, those who know the Islam of 1400 years to be insufficient, they must separate their account with the people. In fact, it is separate.

From now on, we need you [the lower class]. We need this class and no others. Today is the time when Islam must be established. If we don't apply Islamic laws in this revolution and this movement, then when will we apply them? When will such a movement come to fruition? If, God forbid, this movement dies out, who can bring back Islam again? If today we do not follow Islamic laws, when will we follow them?

These people who say that we can not apply them now, should tell us when, then, we can. To these people it must be said, 'Then say no forever to Islam. Say the movement without Islam — Islam minus spirituality means the movement minus Islam.' If, in this movement, Islam and Islamic laws are not applied to the letter, you will later regret it. Those who believe in Islam, those whose hearts beat for Islam, must be active today. The 15th of Khordad was for this. Before the 15th of Khordad, the uprising of the clergymen was for Islam. The uprising of the 15th of Khordad was for this. That which followed was for it. We do not want other than Islam. Islam is always — and, in particular, now — applicable.

Gentlemen, pay attention to your speeches. Pay attention to your writings. Islam freed you from bondage. Take heed, it was Islam that brought you inside the land from the outside. Take heed, it was Islam that brought you out from the corners of your homes, that freed your pens, that gave you freedom of speech. Yes, Islam freed you and you now oppose Islam. Can the Moslems tolerate the fact that Islam and the blood of Moslems freed you only to have you rise against Islam? This is to put aside blessings. God gave these blessings to you. Being grateful to the movement is for you to follow Islam. Repent from the words you say. Repent from the words you write. Incline yourselves towards Islam and the classes you regard as the lower classes, but who are better than you. These are the bright faces of Islam and Moslems. These are the faces which the Messenger of God will welcome. These are the faces

of the pure of God. Join them. Become like them. Join your beliefs with theirs. You speak so much about the West. You want to compare the laws of Islam with those of the West. What a mistake this is! I warn you to remain loyal to Islam. Gratefulness for the benefits of God is to be loyal to Islam. I warn you to be loyal to Islam. I advise you. I also advised the shah in this school. He did not listen and you are less than he was. The afternoon of A'shura, I told the shah not to do anything which would make the people throw him out. He did not listen and he did things which made the people throw him out.

God, you know that I do not support the clergy because I am turbaned. My support of this group comes because I know it can save the people — it is what the people want. It is the mosques which brought all of this about, which initiated this movement. In the time of the Prophet of God and afterwards for a long time, the mosques were the center for political gatherings and mobilization.

The *mihrab* [a place in the mosque from which speeches and lectures are given] means a place of war — war with evil and tyrants. These wars had their roots in the *mihrab*.

Preserve your mosques. People, preserve your mosques. Intellectuals, preserve your mosques. Do not be Western intellectuals. Lawyers, preserve the mosques. Go to the mosques so that the movement will come to fruition, so that your country will be saved.

Oh God, preserve these mosques for us. Oh God, may our people find happiness. Oh God, guide those who are against us to the truth.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

ADHERE TO THE POWER OF UNITY

July 26, 1979. The message of Imam Khomeini for the beginning of the blessed month of Ramadan, 1399.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

The blessed month of Ramadan is the month of worship and self-construction. It is the month to renew one's spiritual strengths, the month which God gave for all Moslems, to follow one path and to attend to the unlimited power of God and to aim themselves against all tyrants. It is necessary to adhere to the power of Unity and through it to rise against all present tyrants, international plunderers and curtail the hands of traitors so that they lose hope.

All Moslems of the world, in particular, the Moslems of Iran, Lebanon and Palestine are facing strong opposition. They have a sensitive road ahead. Iran is confronted by conspirators related to the previous regime, deviates and international Zionists. Lebanon and Palestine are confronted by the corrupt and devouring Israel who is the enemy of Islam and Moslems. Our Moslem brothers in Lebanon and Palestine are confronted by the unhumanitarian aggressions of Israel and if Israel succeeds, it will extend its line of aggression to other countries. It is thus advisable to pray for our Palestinian and Lebanese brothers during this holy month of Ramadan.

As we are at the threshold of the holy month of Ramadan, the following points should also be mentioned:

1. At this sensitive time, we need Islamic gatherings more than at any other time. Moslem peoples should gather in mosques which are like strong castles of Islam to support the movement through Islamic slogans.

2. Lectures by those who speak from the pulpits should unite the people to solidarity, Unity of the Word, continuation of the movement and revolutionary piety and patience. They should make people aware

of the effects of separation and discrepancy which is the main cause of defeat and backwardness. They must recall the struggles, efforts and sufferings of Hazrat Ali. They should unite the people to continue until final victory and the establishment of a complete Islamic system of government through the remembrance of the struggles and sacrifices of the warriors of the early stage of Islam.

3. It is necessary that theologians in all districts, from central areas to the most remote places and provinces cooperate to achieve the goals of Islam. For the election of the members of the Assembly of Experts all groups should share candidates. Each district or each area should not have a different candidate for in this disunity lies the fear of defeat and the pushing back of Islam and its progressive principles. As you have noted today, there are some groups which had previously not been united who have now joined together and have introduced a single candidate together. I am afraid that your rights will be taken from you and, God forbid, a disinterest appear in you. It is necessary that at this sensitive moment for the problem of Islam that you remove yourself from your other interests and all theologians and groups who care about Islam, in particular, the young energetic Moslems join in the choosing of the Assembly of Experts. In this case, the Almighty God will be with you. I hope that in the coming days, I will hear about and read about the cooperation of all of the theologians from all the various cities for Islam. I ask God, the Most High, for the strength of Islam.

4. With the support of the great Moslem community and from the position of power, I warn all those who wish evil upon this Islamic movement, all the conspirators, left or right, to join their people for the sake of the best interests of the country and leave aside their corruption and conspiring, avoid scheming, separation and the serving of foreigners. They should not suppose that with such foolish acts, they can turn their nation from their way. I also give notice to newspapers and the media that liberty differs from conspiracies. Conspiracies which are against the interests of Islam, the country and the people will be strictly prevented. If I felt there is a serious danger, I will leave the matter up to our brave people as they have already shown their determination in various situations.

Global acceptance
(5) I have many times mentioned to all of our Islamic brothers in other countries, in particular, our Arab brothers and the great Arab community, who are the pioneers of Islam, that the major danger which threatens us is from foreignness, especially Zionists. Therefore, it is necessary that during this blessed month of Ramadan, which is the month of Moslem public gatherings, to uncover the conspiracies of the earth-devourers and make clear the dangers of this enemy of humanity.

6. It is necessary that an invitation be made from the great Islamic thinkers to gather in a meeting and study the different aspects and views of the great Islamic Revolution of Iran. The effective blows of this movement should be made clear to international devourers of the earth to neutralize the misleading propaganda of the enemies of the Islamic Revolution. I ask God for the greatness of Islam and the Moslem peoples.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

ALL GOVERNMENTS MUST KNOW THAT ISLAM IS UNCONQUERABLE

August 17, 1979. Imam Khomeini has designated the last Friday of the blessed month of Ramadan to be observed as the Day of Quds when Moslems from all over the world hold demonstrations for the liberation of Jerusalem (*bait al-muqadas*).

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Day of Quds is the day of Islam. All Moslems must be warned and must understand how strong their spiritual and economic powers are. Moslems are one billion people, supported by God, Islam and the power of faith. Why should they be afraid?

We in Iran, with our small population, revolted against great enemies and the super-powers and we defeated them. No one should think that any of these Americans or non-American leftists can carry on their activities in this country. The day that we as a nation want, they will be dumped into the garbage can of oblivion.

Our great nation is no longer afraid of the slaughtering activities of the foreigners. The activities of Israel in South Lebanon and against Palestine is an example of such slaughtering actions and they perform these according to the orders of their corrupt masters. A deposed Shah did the same thing and thus destroyed himself.

All the governments of the world must know that Islam is unconquerable. Islam and the Quran will conquer the world. A true religion should be a divine religion. Islam is a divine religion and thus must be promoted throughout the whole world.

The Day of Quds is such a day and announces such a goal, announcing the progress of the Moslems all over the world. The Day of Quds is not only the Day of Palestine, but it is the day of Islam, as well. It is the day of Islamic government. It is the day that the banner of Islam must be flown in all countries and the Moslems must show the super-po-

wer that they cannot influence Islamic countries any longer. They must realize that the Day of Quds is Islam's and the Prophet's Day, the day that we must gather all of our powers and all of the Moslems must come out of isolation and stand against the foreigners with all of their strength.

We have stood against foreigners with all of our powers and will not permit that others interfere in our country and other Moslems must not allow others to interfere in their countries. On the Day of Quds, the nations must warn the traitorous governments.

The Day of Quds is the day that we will realize which regime and persons are cooperating with international conspirators and thus are opposing Islam. Those who do not participate in these demonstrations are opposing Islam and thus are in agreement with Israel. Those who participate and have demonstrations on this day are responsible people and are in stride with Islam and thus oppose Israel.

The Day of Quds is a day to distinguish between truth and falsehood. I ask God the Almighty to give victory to Islam over all of the other faiths and support the deprived in order to defeat the arrogant, those who cause deprivation. I ask God to free our Moslem brothers in Palestine and South Lebanon and everywhere in the world from the oppressors, deprivors and plunders.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

ISLAM IS A POLITICAL RELIGION

August 24, 1979. The message of Imam Khomeini upon the occasion of *id-i-fitr* (the festival which marks the end of the month of fasting).

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

I send greetings to all Moslems of the East and the West for the blessed festival of *fitr*. I hope that God the Most High accepts the prayers you have given throughout the month and blesses this Festival.

Islam is a political religion. It is a religion in which politics can clearly be seen in the instructions and rituals. The purpose of the gathering daily in mosques in Islamic countries, in all the provinces, villages and remote districts is so that Moslems can become aware of their own problems as well as the problems of deprived and abased peoples.

On the other hand, one day a week there is a gathering at the Friday prayers which includes two sermons and by which means all routine problems and questions facing the country, whether political, social or economic are discussed.

There are also two Festivals in which all of the people gather together and by means of the two sermons given after the Festival prayer and after sending greetings to the Prophet of Islam and his successor the political, social, economic and all pending problems and the need of the country and of each district are discussed there. In this way, people become acquainted with current affairs.

Above and beyond all of this, Moslems each year make the *hadj* or pilgrimage to Mecca. The people who have the possibility are obliged to gather together at the *hadj*. They come from all Islamic countries to speak about and discuss their problems during this time, especially in Mecca, Mina, and the Mosque of the Prophet. In this way, they survey the circumstances of all of the Islamic countries.

Thus, the daily gathering, the Friday gathering, the Festival gatherings and the pilgrimage is for this purpose so that the problems of

the districts, towns, provinces and Islamic countries can be studied accurately and in detail. All of these are political concerns. Moslems should note these occasions with care. Unfortunately, the advantages have been overlooked and the proper results have not been achieved from these meetings and gatherings. Moslems gather in Mecca and other places but they seem to be separate from each other. They perform the Friday prayers and the Festival prayers but they are not united together as they should be.

Islam has called people to these gatherings in order that important goals be achieved. Two particular verses of the Qoran have been particularly selected to be recited by the leader of the prayer for the people.

The Congregational Chapter

The first part of the Congregational Chapter and the second part of the Chapter on the Hypocrites should be noted. The Congregational Chapter discusses the mission of the Prophet of Islam. It has been selected to purify the people and teach them the Qoran and wisdom. Priority has been given to the purification of the people over the teaching of the book and wisdom. People should first be purified in order to be prepared to accept training and wisdom. The Congregational Chapter mentions that the secret of the mission of the Prophet is purification and the training of the community. It includes all aspects of teaching and training.

Following this, the chapter shows the position of religious leaders who have learned the science but do not act according to it. They have been given the worst of names, 'Those who carry the Book, but who do not act according to it, are like donkeys who carry books.' If knowledge does not influence a person and does not lead him towards humanity, what is its use? It makes no difference whatsoever if the book is carried inside his heart or outside. It is just like an animal who carries books. As the books have no use for that animal, knowledge, which is uncommitted to social action, which is not used for the mental development and guidance of the people, also has no use.

God mentions this point here so that people may distinguish between right and wrong scholars. It also serves as a reminder to reli-

gious leaders of their duties. There are many other important points in this chapter which I have not mentioned.

The Chapter of the Hypocrites

In the Chapter of the Hypocrites, God explains the characteristics of hypocrites, people who claim to be Moslems in your presence but they are liars. They are not Moslems. The hypocrites are called the worst of names so that people come to know them. Do not believe everyone who says, 'I am a Moslem,' or 'I accept the Islamic Republic.' Study his or her actions. How 'engaged' or 'committed' is this person? What has this person done for the country? What is this person's identity about it? They pretend to be Moslems and then open fire on the people in the provinces. They set the harvests of the people on fire. They kill our young people here and there. In Kurdistan, they have killed many of our young people and many Kurds. In the meantime, they say they are Moslems. No one believes them.

The Quran says, in this case, 'You are hypocrites.' You whose words differ from your deeds are not realistic, you are not Moslems but you are hypocrites. You intend to deceive the people. You who are causing corruption in Kurdistan and say you are Sunnis, if you were really Sunnis, you would be obliged to obey the command of the Islamic leader according to the religious decrees of the great Sunni religious leaders. Today, the commander of Islam is the Islamic government of the country. Therefore, you should obey Islamic and Quranic jurisprudence and the words of your religious leaders. If you are Moslems, why do you not obey the Quran. As the Quran says, 'Obey God, obey the Prophet and obey your leaders.' Why do you not listen? You claim to be a Moslem but, in fact, you are not.

Dear people of Kurdistan, our young people of Kurdistan, this is a time for you to recognize hypocrites from the non-hypocrites. Those who claim to be Moslems but set fire to the harvests of the people, those who pretend to be Moslems but put people under pressure and cause them to suffer, those who claim to be Moslems but set fire to the hospitals, kill people, recognize them. They are the hypocrites. They say today, in order to deceive you, that they are Moslems. But you

must recognize who they really are.

Those who did not vote for the Islamic Republic, liked the oppressive regime. If they are Moslems, they should vote for an Islamic Republic and approve of a just Islamic government. Those who reject voting for an Islamic Republic are hypocrites. Those who set fire to the harvest of the people and prevent people from voting are not Moslems. We will treat them as we treat non-Moslems. We will treat them as hypocrites. We will defeat them.

So that the people of the world may come to know our policy and know the type of persons we are confronting, we give freedom to them. Under this freedom more than two hundred different parties have been formed. Many newspapers, magazines and journals have been published. No one prevented these. While they were insulting to our policies, they acted against our government and Islam, nevertheless, no one prevented them until we saw the conspiracies and understood them to be conspirators.

You are hypocrites who bring about conspiracies against Islam, the nation and the people. You have contacts with foreigners. We control your movements. We are informed that you are in contact and have connections with the agents of the previous regime. After your conspiracies have been proven and the people have realized your true features, we cannot permit you to freely do anything you want to do. We will defeat you.

I give notice to my dear nation and the great people of Kurdistan that Islam is a refuge for all of us and will supply us with all things. They are following foreigners. They must be captured and the traitorous leaders must be delivered. Our young people must know that they are people God has called hypocrites. He has explained their character in the Quran.

The Nation Must Be Aware

I give notice to all groups of the nation to avoid such persons at all costs. If they do not put aside their satanic deeds, I will arm all of the nation and we will destroy them. The nation must be aware. The nation must be prepared. You must not allow those corrupt statues to

alter the country and take it back to what it was and allow them to impose a monarchy upon us.

I ask Almighty God to bless this Festival and all Islamic Festivals and to awaken all Moslems to arise together and protect the interests of Moslems all over the world. I pray for our Moslem brothers in Afghanistan to be able to solve their problems. They are confronting the same hypocrites who pretend to be Moslems. In Jerusalem, in Lebanon, in Palestine and other places, our Moslem brothers are confronted by the super-powers and Zionists who are opening fire upon them. All Moslems must become aware of these points. They must pray when it is time for prayer and act when it is time to act. I hope that the banner of Islam will be raised throughout the world. Islam is God's religion and thus all people should follow it.

I also mention that having a Party of the Deprived and Abased formed in all parts of the world does not mean that the other sound parties which have been formed in Iran and elsewhere should be abolished, but I hope that the Party of the Deprived and Abased will be established in addition to local parties.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

SEARCH AND FIND THE EAST

September 8, 1979. Imam Khomeini's message in the Faiziyeh School in Qom, to mark the massacre of the 17th of Shahrivar (September 8) of the previous year.

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

*And indeed sent We Moses with Our signs saying:
'Lead thou out thy people from the darkness into the light
and remind them of the days of God;
verily in this are signs for the patient, the grateful' (14:5)*

*God is the Guardian of those who believe
He taketh them out of darkness into light
and those who disbelieve, tyrants are their guardians and
they take them out from the light into darkness
They are the companions of the fire, therein shall they abide. (2:257)*

These are two subjects which oppose each other — 'the taking out of darkness into light' and 'the taking out of light into darkness' — the doing away with darkness and the taking of people to the light and opposing this, doing away with light and taking people to darkness. This latter is the profession of the tyrants (*taghut*). All disharmony is darkness, all backwardness is darkness, all 'westoxication' is darkness, those who turn their attention to the West and foreigners, have taken the West to be their direction of prayer (*qiblah*) and their attention is directed to the West. They have moved into darkness and their saints are idols.

Eastern societies which, by means of internal and external propaganda, by means of the orders of the internal and external agents, have turned to the West and have the direction of their prayers, the West, have lost themselves. They do not know themselves. They have lost their gloriousness and honor and in place of that sits a western mind.

Their saints are idols. They have entered darkness from the light.

All of the problems of Easterners and, among them, our problems and miseries, are the very cause of our losing ourselves and someone is sitting in place of us. Thus, you see that, in Iran, until something does not have a Western name, it is not accepted. Even a drug store must have a Western name. The material woven in our factories must have something in the latin script in its selvages and a Western name is put on it.

Our streets must have Western names. Everything must have a Western color to it. Some of these writers and intellectuals either put a Western name on the books they write or, when they express an idea they do so on behalf of a Westerner. The defect is that they are also 'westoxicated' and so are we. If our books did not have these titles, or our material did not contain that script and if our drug stores did not have that name, we would pay less attention to it. When we turn to a book, a great deal of attention is paid to finding foreign words. They forget their own phrases and the word itself.

Easterners have completely forgotten their honor. They have buried it. In place of it, they have put others. These are all darknesses which a tyrant transforms us to from light. It is these very tyrants — of the past and present — who have reached out towards 'westoxication'. They relate everything to the West. They take all their subjects and sources from the West and have given them to us. Our universities were at that time Western universities. Our economy, our culture were Western. We completely forgot ourselves and in place of us we put a Westerner.

I recall that a member of the family of the deposed, accursed Mohammad Reza got tonsillitis and they brought a surgeon from Europe while, for the doctors here it is a simple operation, and this was only so that the world would know that someone who is forcibly at the head of a country and that they recognize to be the king of that country believes that there is no doctor in Iran to operate on the tonsils. You know what damage this does to Iranian medicine. This is traitorous to the people of Iran that they are introduced to the belief that in all of its country, there is no doctor to operate on someone's tonsils. How

much this helps colonialism and the West! How much self-respect of our country is lost with this way of thinking!

When I was young, I remember my eyes weakened — they are still weak — and at that time, Amin ol-Molk, God's Mercy be upon him, was an eye doctor. I went to Tehran to have him treat my eyes. A person who knew he and I, suggested I go to see Dr. Amin ol-Molk. He said, 'One of the Daulahs [of the court] had become near-sighted. He had gone to Europe to see a doctor. That doctor asked him, 'Where are you from?' In answer, he said, 'I am from Iran.' The doctor had asked, 'Isn't Amin ol-Molk there?' He had answered, 'He may be, but I do not know him.' That professor had then said, 'Amin ol-Molk is better than we are.'

We have good doctors, but our minds have become Western brains. The same is true of the doctors. When you go to see them, they themselves say, 'You have to go to Europe,' because their minds think this way. They have lost themselves. They have lost their strength. We and they have both lost our self-respect and our sense of nationality. Until this nation does not come out of this 'westoxication', it will never find independence. As long as our writers — whose books are as they are, who, for every subject which we have, want to express according to such and such a foreigner and Westerner — do not leave aside these dependencies, you will not find independence.

The attention of some of our women is turned to the idea that such and such a mode must come from the West and such and such an ornamentation must move from there, here, so that whenever something is found there, it is imitated here. As long as you do not put aside these imitations, you cannot be a human being and independent. If you want to be independent and have them recognize you as a nation, you must desist from imitating the West.

As long as you are in this state of imitating, do not wish for independence. As long as all of the words of our writers are Western, do not hope to have your nation be independent. As long as these names appear on your streets and your drug stores and your books, and your parks and in all your things, you will not become independent. It is only the mosques which do not have Western names and that is because the clergymen, until now, because of their type, are this way. Other-

wise, everything must have a Western name — both those who write use Western names and those who want to read, unless there is a Western name, do not accept it.

'And those who disbelieve,' disbelieve in God's blessings and realities are dark and covered in them. Their saints are idols. 'They take them from light into darkness' — from absolute light, from guidance from independence, from nationalism, from Islam — they take these out and put them into darkness. We have now lost ourselves. Until they are lost be not found, you will not become independent. Search and find it. Search for and find the East.

As long as we are as we are, as long as our writers are as they are, as long as our intellectuals think that way, as long as our freedom-seekers seek that kind of Western freedom, it will remain as it is. They cry out that there is suffocation, there is no freedom. What has happened that there is no freedom?

They say, 'These clergymen do not allow men and women to turn somersaults together in the water. These clergymen do not let our young people go to bars or gambling houses and seek out prostitutes. They do not allow our radio and television to show naked women and that type of ugly, lewdness. They do not allow our children and young people to be entertained.' This is an imported kind of a freedom which has come from the West. It is a colonialistic freedom, that is, colonialist countries dictate to those who are traitors to their own countries so that they can promote these freedoms. They are free to take heroin. They are free to smoke hashish. They are free to go to gambling houses. They are free to go to houses of entertainment and, as a result, our young people, who must be active in relation to the fate and destiny of their country, become indifferent.

An indifferent person cannot think for a country. Those who are and have been deceived from abroad are foreign agents and they promote prostitution. The promotion of these actions pulls our young people towards corruption. The result of their work is this that a country which gets its strength from its young people and the young people must manage it, they take this strength away from our young people. As a result, thoughts about what goes on in this country and what the

ruling bodies are doing to the country or the fact that they brought Mohammad Reza to this country is put out of their heads. In place of serious minds, silly minds appear. As a result, the person who should be a human being, who thinks about his own destiny, this thought is taken away from him. This is a type of freedom which we have to call colonialist freedom. This is other than freedom which must be amidst a people. This is a type of freedom which has come from abroad. They brought us and our young people up like this.

A young person who forms a habit with these kinds of things and no longer thinks about who takes our oil, our steel, our gas. He says, 'What's it to me! Leave me alone to my pleasures. Do I have time to waste, putting efforts into those things?' This is how they brought us up.

Until these unjust writers do not save our young people from these kinds of thoughts and do not promote a healthy kind of freedom and do not prevent their steps and their pens from writing about these corrupt freedoms, there is no hope that we will have an independent and free country. This hope must be taken to the grave.

Moses (ع) was appointed to take his tribe from darkness to light. The assignment of all of the prophets was this that they take people away from darkness and from these things which oppose the way of humanity and oppose the way of a nation and enter them into the light.

An enlightened heart cannot stand by silently and watch while their traditions and honor are trampled upon. An enlightened heart cannot see its people being drawn towards this baseness of spirit or watch in silence while individuals around Tehran live in slums. They want to bring you up in such a way that you remain indifferent in all of your affairs. They do not ask why these poverty-stricken people have remained in poverty and why others take our oil. It never appears in your mind that we have such problems. Look at how your hearts were fifteen, twenty years ago when there was no perseverance. There were only a few people opposing this who occasionally protested and there was neither protest in our mosques nor in our universities — no place.

The second command which God gave to Moses (ﷺ) was to 'remind people of the Days of God' (*ayum allah*). All days belong to God but some days have a particularity and because of that particularity, is called the Day of God (*yaum allah*). The day that the great Prophet of Islam migrated to Medina is one of the days that is called the Day of God. The day that he conquered Mecca is one of the days called the Day of God. It is the day that God showed His strength as when an orphan who everyone rejected and who could not live in his home after a short time, conquered Mecca. He brought the tyrants, the wealthy and the powerful under his influence and he said to them 'You are free.' Thus such a day is one of the Days of God. The day of Khawareh is a day when Hazrat Ali (ﷺ) unsheathed his sword and did away with these corrupt and cancerous tumors. This was also one of the Days of God (*yaum allah*).

These so-called sacred people whose foreheads showed the mark of prayer but do not know God, these were the people that Amir al-mu'minin killed. He arose against them and there were even men in his army who arose against them. But because of the course of the Battle of Siffin, the Imam saw that if they remained, they would corrupt people, he killed all of them except those who had escaped. Thus, this day is among the Days of God (*yaum allah*). The days which God, the Most High and Exalted, brings something to punish the people, he sends an earthquake, a flood, a thunder-storm, in other words, he whips people so that they will become human beings.

These are all Days of God and they are things which relate to God. One of the days of God is the 15th of Khordad (June 5, 1963) when people stood against a force and they did something which caused almost five months of martial law. But because the people had no power they were not consolidated, they were not awake, they were defeated. Of course, they were defeated on the surface, but actually, that was a point of victory for the people. The 17th of Shahrivar (September 17, 1978) was another one of the Days of God when a people, men, women, young people and older people, all stood up and, in order to get their rights, were martyred.

You must recall these Days of God as you have and you must not

forget them. It is these days which build human beings. It is on these days that our young people leave their places of entertainment and enter the battlefield. These are the Divine Days. These Days awoke our people. God commands that you enter the Days of God (*ayum allah*) into the minds of people.

Do not forget this great Day which passed for our people and were Days of God like the 15th of Khordad, the 17th of Shahrivar and the day that that wicked man [the shah] left, was one of the Days of God. A nation which had nothing, broke a force in such a way that nothing remained of it, not only was that power opposing you, but all of the powers of the world, as well. I was aware that the whole world had supported him. The army and Bakhtiar supported him and tried to keep him here.

America was holding him up with both hands. When he fled, they held up Bakhtiar with both hands. They sent people to us saying, 'This is from us. This belongs to us.' They were servants. Do not be surprised that they kept someone for 10, 15, 20 years in the false form of a nationalist for the day when it will serve their purposes. It is possible that a person pray in a mosque for 20 years and worship God and then one day work for them. It is possible that a person claim honesty and claim to be a nationalist and swear at foreigners, write articles against them so that they influence the hearts of the people for the day when they want to come to power.

That day was the day when he [the shah] left and this man [Bakhtiar] replaced him to protect the interests of foreigners. Do not discount this. It happened. You saw how they told us, 'It is too soon. Do not go to Iran now.' They wanted to consolidate their powers and end the troubles so that there would no longer be a possibility of going. That was also one of the Days of God (*ayum allah*).

One of the great Days of God, the Most High and Exalted, was the night when they had planned a coup d'etat when we were in Tehran. They announced a 24 hour martial law so that even in the daytime people should not come out. Later they informed us that they had intended that night to kill the leaders of Qom and whoever opposed them, finish them off and end the job. God did not want it to be so.

That was an enlightened insurrection of a responsible nation which criminals was done away with. If a person studies history perhaps took place and the power of that side joined this side and we were is not one person among them who was more or less distant from victorious. This was the Divine Will and one of the Days of God their crimes. Those who were like them called themselves 'people of paradise'. They were also criminals.

Do not forget this that all of the conspiracies were fixed so that one night they would fall into place and have a coup d'etat and the people who could do something would be destroyed and the nation returned to the way it was. God did not want it to be so. This was one of the Days of God which you, the enlightened and noble people of Iran, with your hearts filled with faith, should not fear. Even though they had announced martial law that day, you went into the streets and did away with that which they had wanted. They had wanted the streets to be empty so that they could bring in tanks and place them everywhere and at night be busy with their crime. God, the Most High and Exalted, answered the cries of this nation. That day is one of the great Days of God.

All powers supported them, not just the super-powers but other powers as well. Those who work for the rate of that day and according to the idea that whoever pays more is better, eat according to the rate of that day. Everyone supported them that day. In spite of this, God the Most High and Exalted, blessed you and made you victorious over these great powers and curtailed the hands of foreigners. With the Will of God, their hands will remain curtailed. This is a great Day of God.

Do not forget that we had a 15th of Khordad and this is the beginning of the Islamic movement of Iran. Do not forget that we had 17th of Shahrivar and we must not forget that on that day, we gave many martyrs and so much blood and the nation arose against foreigners and their agents. Blood was spilt, but it was victorious and also the other innumerable days.

Recall days that they attacked us with complete cruelty and you with complete courage, your men and women, stood against them. Someone told me, 'I saw, with my own eyes, that a child of 10 or 11 was riding a motorcycle and went towards the tanks. The tank ran over him and killed him.' A spirit was born which prompted a child to do such an act. Empty handed, a monarchial empire of 2500 years, 2500 years of

One of the shahs blinded his own courageous son so that the day would not come when he would gain power but the principal crime and one person who was a genius at crime was this Mohammad Reza. His father was not a criminal to the same extent because this Mohammad Reza both inherited criminal tendencies and he himself was a criminal. He was a genius in crime and kept everything we had backwards in the name of 'The Great Civilization'. He wanted to obliterate our Islam in the name of Islam. He wanted to take away our honor. He wanted to destroy our great history. He was more original in his crimes - that person who is wandering over the world at the moment.

Do not forget your honor. Our intellectuals and writers and all our groups of scholars should turn their attention to their own honor and glory. They should not prostrate themselves so much towards the West and writers of books. You yourselves have things to say. What difference does it make to you what so and so from the West said? Why do you quote from a foreigner so that the spirit of our young people becomes melancholy and show them to be out of their framework. You people must protest and not buy anything from a drug store with a foreign name until they change its name. These beloved university students of ours should pay attention to the fact that when a writer quotes from a foreigner, do not buy that book and do not read it. If you do this and buyers pull back, they will stop doing it. They want customers. When a commodity has no customers, it is discontinued.

Push away and turn your backs on things which pull you to the West and trample upon your honor and in place of it, they put Western things. With the Will of God, if there is time, I will speak more about this. I cannot now express the whole situation. I pray for you. May God continue His Mercy upon this nation in the way that He Blessed this nation and showed it Mercy and saved us from foreigners and their agents so that foreigners will no longer penetrate. May God give you all happiness, health, greatness, strength and seriousness. May God save

you from those kinds of freedoms which are colonistic and come here from abroad.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

September 20, 1979. The Revolutionary Message and Historical Religious Decree (*fatwa*) of Imam Khomeini.

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

The time is near for one of the great rituals of Islam which consists of a humanity awakened to religious matters, politics and social affairs, that is, the ritual of the Hadj or pilgrimage to the House of God. It is necessary that from the beginning of the Islamic Republic, founded upon the great Revolution of the noble people of Iran, that this sacred ritual be purified from all effects of the idol worshipping tyrants.

It must be returned to the real Islam. With the Will of God, in the governing of the Islamic Republic, this sacred ritual, with all the spiritual meaning which it contains, will be realized. It is necessary that several points be mentioned:

1. It is necessary that I remind the respected religious leaders of the various groups that before leaving for Mecca, you should hold meetings to inform the pilgrims of their religious duties and revolutionary responsibilities.

2. All of our Moslem brothers and sisters should pay attention to the fact that one of the most important aspects of the philosophy of the Hadj is to establish an understanding and brotherhood among Moslems. It is necessary that scholars and religious leaders express their essential political and social beliefs to your Moslem brothers. In order to do so, plans should be made so that when they return to their own countries, they can place the plans at the disposal of their religious leaders and others.

3. In this year in which Iran is at the threshold of an Islamic Republic, and because of unjust propaganda of the foreigners, it is possible that Moslems from various countries not be informed of the depth of the Islamic movement in Iran. Therefore it is necessary that religious

leaders, speakers and scholars, with whatever means that are available introduce this sacred movement. The other pilgrims must realize that the goal of the Iranian Moslems is to establish an Islamic government under the banner of Islam and under the guidance of the Holy Qoran and the Prophet of Islam so that our Moslem brothers will come to know that our only goal is Islam and we only think about the establishment of a just Islamic government.

4. It is necessary that our Iranian, Shi'ite brothers and those of other countries not take part in the ignorant practices which disunite the ranks of we Moslems. It is necessary that they participate in the ritual prayer with the Sunnis. It is necessary that they avoid holding congregational prayers in their homes, avoid placing loud speakers which cause disturbances and avoid falling down upon the graves of the holy ones or do things that are sometimes against the Divine Law.

5. Delegating other Shi'ites for the prayer of the circumambulation is not correct. Each person must, to their own ability, recite their own prayers. It is not allowed to hire a substitute or to cause trouble for the people who are performing their prayers.

6. The circumambulation is a well-known part of the ritual which all pilgrims perform and it should be performed in the same way by all. Do not do things which the ignorant people do and you must in no way do anything which will cause your religion to be discredited.

7. At *voqufain*, it is necessary that you follow the decrees of the Sunnis and it should be observed even if it be a mistake.

8. In this year, because of the Islamic Revolution, we see what our brothers and sisters suffered at the hands of the tyrants and many of the wounded and injured are in need of help. It is appropriate that people who wish to perform a supererogatory pilgrimage, give the money for that to their brothers and sisters instead as, in the view of God, the Almighty, this is a much higher act of spiritual benefit. Also people who spend exorbitant amounts of money on gifts or people who spend money on pagentry and gatherings upon their return, it is more appropriate that this money be spent on your brothers and sisters who are in need and are afflicted because God the Most High has placed more blessing upon this.

I ask for the greatness of Islam from God and the happiness of the Moslem people and victory for all in taking the sacred movement to a fruitful end. Greetings to all the gathering of believers. May God bless you all.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

ISLAM IS THE GREAT RELIGION OF UNITY

September 24, 1979. The message of Imam Khomeini for the gathering of the Pilgrimage (*hadj*), 1399, A.H.

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

*And hold you fast to God's covenant
together, be not divided
so that by His blessing you become brothers
you where upon the brink of a pit of Fire
and He delivered you from it
thus does God clearly explain His signs for you
so that you may be guided (3:102)*

Greetings to all of the Moslems of the world, East and West and greetings to the pilgrims of the House of Abraham, may God grant success to all of them.

It cannot be denied, it is obvious that Islam is the great religion of Unity. It destroys pagentry, idolatry and selfishness. It is a religion based on the nature of humanity. It liberates one from the bonds and chains of nature and from the jinn who are both hidden and manifest. It is a political religion and leads one upon the straight path. Islam is neither eastern nor western. It is a religion in which prayer is combined with politics and politics is considered to be a kind of prayer.

Now that Moslems of different countries of the world are going to the Ka'ba, the house of their hopes, now that they are going on a pilgrimage to the House of God to perform this most important divine ritual, now that it is the time for this great Islamic gathering at this sacred place, Moslems, who are awakened by God, must, in addition to embracing their devotions, benefit from the political and social possibilities. They should not be satisfied with external devotions alone.

It is known that no government or leader in the world could establish such an important and great gathering. It is only by God's command that such a great gathering is held. Unfortunately, throughout the

whole of history, Moslems have not been able to take advantage of this divine power in the Islamic gathering of the Hadj and make favorable use of it for Islam and Moslems.

There are several political duties which are part of any gathering, especially such a valuable gathering as the Hadj. One of these duties is being aware of the basic and political difficulties of Islam and Moslems. Such an awareness is only possible at such a gathering of clergymen, intellectuals and pilgrims to the House of God who are engaged in social action. They have the opportunity to discuss problems together and by discussing them, find solutions and then when they return to their country, they can put their solutions into action.

Another important duty at this great gathering is to invite people and Islamic communities to the Unity of the Word and eliminate class distinctions which exist among Moslems. It is the duty of preachers, speakers and writers to perform this important task and try to bring all of the deprived people of the world into a united front. Through the testimony of *la illaha illa Lah*, Moslems must liberate themselves from the slavery and oppression which evil powers, imperialists and exploiters bring. Through Islamic brotherhood, Moslems must defeat these forces.

My dear sisters and brothers, in whatever country you may reside, you must defend your Islamic honor. You must stand fearless against your enemies whether they be America, International Zionism or Eastern or Western super-powers. You must defend Islamic nations. You must reveal the oppressions of Islam's enemies.

My Moslem brothers and sisters, you are well aware of the fact that Eastern and Western super-powers are plundering both our material and spiritual benefits. They are keeping all of us in poverty. They are trying to make us politically, economically, culturally and militarily dependent upon them. You must be awakened. You must seek out your Islamic identity. You must not accept oppression. You must intelligently reveal the evil plans of international and world oppressors and imperialists who regulate them in America.

Today, Jerusalem, the place of the first Islamic direction of prayer (*qiblah*) is occupied by Israel, this cancerous gland of the Middle

East. Israel is massacring our dear Lebanese and Palestinian brothers and sisters with all of their powers. Israel, with all its evil means and powers, creates discrepancies among Moslems. It is necessary for all Moslems to arm themselves against Israel.

The Moslem countries of Africa are being contorted under the pressure of America and its agents. Moslem Africa is today shouting its cry of oppression as loud as it can. The philosophy of the Hadj should reply to those cries of oppression.

Circling around the Ka'ba means that you should circle around nothing other than God. The stoning and punishing means to stone and do away with the demons of mankind. When you are throwing your stones, make a covenant with God to stone and do away with the super-powers and demons of mankind from Moslem nations.

Today, the Moslem world is in bondage to America. You must take God's message to all Moslems on all continents. The message of God is to worship none but He. Moslems of the world and followers of the School of Unity know that the secret of the troubles and difficulties of Moslem countries is disunity and the secret of victory is the Unity of the Word and bringing about harmony.

God has told us, ***'And hold you fast to God's covenant, together, be not divided.'*** To adhere to God's covenant is to hold to the solidarity and harmony of all Moslems for Islam and towards Islam and for the sake of all Moslems. It is to avoid any kind of disunity, discrepancies and self-worship which is the main cause of all of the miseries and falling behind.

I ask God the Almighty for the glory of Islam as well as the Unity and solidarity for Moslems all over the world. Greetings to all Moslems and all of the good and pious creatures of God.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

MAKE AGREEMENTS OF UNITY AND SOLIDARITY IN THESE SACRED PLACES

October 31, 1979. Imam Khomeini issued an important message upon the occasion of the day of Arafat of the pilgrimage which was addressed to all Moslems of the world. This message was read to hundreds of thousands of persons gathered at Arafat as well as to those in Mecca and it was broadcast to the Islamic world.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

'The Prophet of God is a good example for you.' Greetings and the blessings of God upon the great Prophet of Islam who arose alone among the idolaters and arrogant, who raised the flag of Unity in favour of the deprived and abased people of the world. He had no fear because the numbers of his followers were small and that they had insufficient equipment but with the support of the power of faith and determination, he revolted against the tyrants and oppressors. Within less than half a century, the sound of Unity spread to all the cultivated parts of the world.

You honorable pilgrims have come from all parts of the world to the sacred House of God, to the center of Unity, the place of revelation, the place of Abraham and Mohammad, two great men who were destroyers of idols and who rebelled against the arrogant. You are now in the blessed places which, at the time of the revelation, were dry deserts and mountains and yet they are the place of the descending of the angels of God where the soldiers of God were attacked, the residence of the prophets of God and pious followers of God.

You should realize the importance and greatness of the places in which you are. Arm yourselves from this center of the destruction of idols to break the great idols which have altered their faces in the form of satanic powers and earth devouring plunderers. You must not be afraid of the empty power of tyrants. Rely on God. Make agreements of unity and solidarity in these sacred places. Avoid separation,

fighting with each other. As God has commanded, 'Do not fight with each other for that will cause your respect to be destroyed.' The characteristic of faith and Islam will be diminished by fighting among yourselves and taking up ranks according to your personal wishes which are against the instructions of God. Unite! in the Truth, with the Unity of the Word and the word, Unity, you have the main sources of the greatness of the Islamic community and they will bring victory.

All of you Moslems of the world, what has happened to you? How was it that in the early stages of Islam, a few Moslems defeated the super-powers of that time and created the great humanitarian, Islamic community, but now you have approximately a one billion population and hold the most important resources which are our arms, and you show only weakness and humility towards the enemy?

Do you know that the most important cause of your miseries is due to the separation and contrasts of the heads of your country and consequently, you yourselves. Arise! Take up the Quran! Obey God's command so that you will be able to return to and revive the greatness and glory of Islam. Come and just listen to the words of God when God says, 'I give you one advice, arise and revolt for God, one by one or two by two.' Arise all of you for the sake of God. Arise against the inner satans. All arise against the satanic powers of the world. An uprising which is divinely inspired and for the sake of God will be victorious.

You Moslems and deprived people of the world, give your hands to each other, turn your attention towards God, trust in Islam and revolt against the arrogant and the oppressors of the rights of the people. Oh, pilgrims to the House of God, join each other and gather together in sacred places and ask for victory of God and the greatness of Moslems and the deprived and abased people of the world.

You speakers and writers must discuss the social and political problems of your country at the great gatherings of Arafat, Mashai, Mina, Mecca and Medina with your brothers in faith and ask for the assistance of each other.

You are all pilgrims to the House of God. Try to speak of left and rightest conspiracies and in particular, those of the plundering, of

oppressive America and the criminal Israel to the people of the world and ask for their assistance. Make the crimes of these criminals known. Rely on God for the improvement of Islamic affairs. Curtail the hands of criminals from Islamic countries.

With the Will of God, the Almighty, I give you the good news of victory. Greetings to the Prophet of God, leaders of Moslems and pious followers of God. May God's blessings be upon all of you.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

MOSLEM COUNTRIES MUST DEFEND ALL FREEDOM ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WORLD

November 3, 1979. The message of Imam Khomeini to the Algerian people on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of their independence.

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

Having reached the threshold of 25 years of freedom from the oppressive domination of the so-called 'civilized' colonizers, I express my own sincere greetings as well as the greetings of all Iranians to our brother nation, Algeria.

Our nation has also tasted the bitterness of foreign domination and the plunders of oil, especially that of the U.S. Thus, we sense what you have suffered. We share in the sorrow and happiness of the whole Algerian nation and other Moslem countries because of our belief in brotherhood.

I hope that Moslems of the world who are now at the threshold of the fifteenth century of the hegira will really study these difficulties and the origin of them and with solidarity, unity, and the endorsement of Islam, under the honorable banner of Islam, release themselves from the bind of the colonizers.

Moslems who are at the threshold of the new century who have sensed unbearable suffering and who have seen nothing from the satanic super-powers but plundering, crime and difficulties, should now sincerely unite together and by turning their attention to God and Islam, try to find solutions to their problems.

The first essential step is that Moslem nations and their national governments must try to remove their mental dependence upon the West and find their own genuine culture. They should free themselves and the eastern countries and the African continent which has been awakened by the Islamic national, bloody revolution of the brave people of Algeria, from the domination of America and other colonizing

countries. They must stand on their own two feet and seriously fight against the culture of the West which is exported to them.

African, Asian and other countries which are under domination must know that the corruption which is exported from colonizing, conspiring countries like America is not comparable to their changing themselves. Thus, all Islamic countries such as Iran must spiritually and financially support countries which are fighting colonizing countries.

Islamic countries must defend all freedom organizations of the world. We seriously condemn the conspiracies of Egypt, America and Israel for destroying and defeating the great revolution of the brave Palestinian people. Let the heads and representatives of the countries which have gathered in Algeria to unite and curtail the affairs of rightist and leftist criminals headed by the U.S., thoroughly defeat Israel and return the rights of the Palestinian people to them.

I ask God to return awareness, solidarity, unity and glory to all Islamic countries. Greetings to you and to all faithful servants of God.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

MOSLEMS MUST FIND ISLAM

November 3, 1979. Imam Khomeini meets with a group of Saudia Arabian students who live in Iran on the occasion of *id-i-ghorban*. Imam Khomeini spoke about the following:

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

The movement in Iran does not belong to itself alone because Islam is not special to any one group. Islam has come for mankind not for Moslems and not for Iran. The prophets and the Prophet of Islam were sent to human beings. They called out to the people (*aiyaha-nass*) and we who brought about the movement did so for an Islamic Republic. A movement for Islam cannot relate to one country and not even to all of the Islamic countries. Islam is, in fact, the movement which follows the prophets.

Our great Prophet came from Saudia Arabia but his invitation did not belong to Saudia Arabia alone. It related to all of the world. A human being is a creature who at the beginning is like an animal and if he grows, he becomes a spiritual creature, who becomes higher than the angels of God and if he goes towards corruption, he becomes a creature lower than all of the animals.

Now you see those people who claim to be humanitarian and they support human beings and animals but I do not think that you will find an animal among all the animals who is more savage than they are. They are creatures who want to murder millions of human beings because of their own interests. Even if an animal is a flesh-eater, it does not kill more than that which fills its stomach and when it is full, it leaves the other animals alone. But these people are ready to kill multitudes of people for only a small profit.

Other people who do not wall their interests or at least, do not act to the other's advantage, their existence cannot be considered to be unimportant. Unfortunately, there are organizations among Moslem and eastern societies themselves, in your countries, who believe their words

and they say, 'The east is backwards from the point of view of thought,' or they do not believe them but they work for them. We must call them traitors.

They design these words in the midst of their own society. American media and the media which is directly under the influence of Zionism expresses that. These very expressed problems are spread to their own countries so that eastern and Moslem countries can no longer find Islam. They cannot have a noble existence. Moslems must find Islam. Islam has fled from their hands. We do not know what Islam is now. The West and these criminals have influenced our minds to such an extent that we have lost Islam. Even though every year in the great (*mo'azameh*) Mecca, which God, the Most Exalted, has determined to be the place of gathering of Moslems, Moslems gather there but they do not know what they are doing. They do not use it in an Islamic way and this political center is changed into a center where affairs neglect the problems of Moslems.

If Moslems knew the politics for which the Pilgrimage (*hadj*) was established, this would be sufficient in order for them to find their own independence. Unfortunately, we have lost Islam. They have completely separated it from politics. They cut off its head and gave the rest to us. They have created this situation for us. As long as Moslems remain in this situation, they cannot reach their glory. The glory of Islam is that which existed at the beginning of Islam. They destroyed two empires with their few numbers because they wanted to build human beings.

Islam does not conquer. Islam wants all countries to become Moslem, of themselves. That is, Islam seeks to make those people who are not human beings, human. They captured some people in a jungle. They tied them up and were taking them back when our great Prophet said, 'I must take them to paradise with chains.'

Islam exists to correct society and if a sword is unsheathed, it is unsheathed to destroy the corruptors who do not allow society to be corrected. In this way, the others can be corrected. I hope that if we are successful, it will gradually be corrected. We face many difficulties now. We need the prayers of all Moslems. May God confirm all of you.

GOVERNMENTS THINK THAT THEY MUST GOVERN
AND THAT
PEOPLE MUST BLINDLY FOLLOW

November 3, 1979. Imam Khomeini speaks to the Ambassadors from Arab countries on the occasion of *id-i-ghorban*. Imam Khomeini, in congratulating them, said the following:

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

I offer congratulations to all Moslem nations upon the occasion of the great Moslem festival of *id-i-ghorban*. I hope that all festivals will be auspicious and blessed for all Moslem nations. I thank you gentlemen for coming so that we can discuss our affairs together at close hand. The festival of Moslems is blessed and auspicious when Moslems find themselves, their independence and glory, the glory which existed at the beginning of Islam for Moslems. While Moslems are separated and in a state of disunity and when everything they have is connected to foreigners, no day is auspicious. A day is auspicious when the hands of foreigners are curtailed from Moslem countries and Moslems stand upon their own feet and they undertake the affairs of their own countries.

Islam Wants Governments to Serve the People

I do not know when the problems which take up the attention of both Moslem governments and people will be solved. One of the major problems which Moslems have entangled themselves with is the problem between governments and the people. Another problem is between Moslem states. The problem of governments and the people is that the governments do not know themselves and the people do not know themselves. Governments think that they must rule and people must blindly follow while the problem is that governments want to rule and it is because of this desire to rule that they put down their own people. If this problem is not solved, basic problems which we have will not be solved by the super-powers. While governments do not know their

duties, they do know that the problem which exists between them is caused by the very problems and the disorder within their own countries. But because of the interference of some problems or because of bad intentions or treacheries of some groups, these problems will not be solved. For how long must we be entangled with these problems and dependent upon the East and the West? When do Moslem countries want to awaken? When do Moslem countries want to act according to the way that it was at the beginning of Islam between Moslem governments and its people? For how long do we want to remain separate from our people?

Notice these two situations which our people had. One situation existed at the time of the monarchical regime. From the beginning of the monarchy to the end, and , in particular, in the last fifty or so years which I remember in total and perhaps you do not remember, but you did see some of it. Compare us to then or the time when our people dominated all of the powers and super-powers and they broke this great barrier. Compare us to these two situations. See what they should do. Compare the governments to these two situations. See what they should do.

While the previous regime existed, the people were separate from the government, not an indifferent separation but a separation in which they confronted each other — the government and the deposed shah put all their efforts into pushing down the people. With all his power, he pushed down the people, imprisoned them, tortured them, executed them and did not allow them to breathe. The people, on the other hand, opposed him and if a problem arose for the government, if the people did not increase the problem, they did not decrease it. And if the government was defeated, the people would be happy and if the government and the shah dominated, the people would be unhappy.

The auspicious day is the day when the hands of foreigners will be curtailed from Moslem countries. We saw and you also heard and I heard some of them and I saw some of them. Reza Khan ruled here. He ruled the people in a despotic and unlawful way which history will record. The day when foreign countries took the offensive and they

took our country and everything we had was endangered, I bore witness to the fact that when Reza Khan left Iran — they threw him out — our people, at the same time that they were unhappy, they were happy by the coming of the foreigners. They felt this to be a gift from heaven. I advised his idiot son not to do something so that when he was destroyed like his father, the people would be happy. Then when he left, the people celebrated. They celebrated in the streets. That was a government which opposed its own people and now you see a government which does not confront the people, people do not fear them, imprison them and torture them. Now the people are such that if a problem arises for the government, the people themselves will first step forward in order to solve the problem.

The problems which our people had, because of the previous regime, cannot all be solved. Our people fell together and they are helping each other. Today, before your coming, people who have been active in the Reconstruction Crusade in Qom came to see me and they spoke of their activities without receiving any aid from the government. It was a great deal — buildings had been built, wheat fields had been thrashed, farmers were helped, baths were built, public health was seen to and so forth. These people know their country to be a part of themselves. They know its governments to be a part of themselves.

When the country belongs to itself and the government to itself, neither does the government feel that it must use the force of bayonets nor do the people fear that the government might do such a thing. They do not feel that if they help, they are helping foreigners.

Look at these two situations. One is the situation when our former government was separate from the people and now the situation is that the people are not separate from the government. Islam wants that governments serve the people.

The greatest problem which we Moslems face, unfortunately, I must say, is that we grow slowly. Our political growth is slow. We still feel that with the force of bayonets, and with pressure and security organizations and the army, one can correct a people and a nation can in this way achieve its independence. We still think that way. Our go-

vernments still think that they must crush the people, in whatever way possible. When will this problem be solved? When will these governments come to their senses?

Be a friend to your people and they will support you and you will serve them. If people feel that governments have come into being to support and serve them, there is no problem that they also are ready to serve and are even ready to serve more. This problem must be solved by the governments themselves, but, unfortunately, they are not. This is one of the problems and until this problem is not solved, there is no hope that we will be able to oppose the super-powers and push them out of our countries.

The second problem is similar. It is the problem of governments. Why is it that Moslem governments should be this way with each other — where they pull each other in different directions? Why should countries who have everything and have all kinds of power, like Israel, with its small numbers, come and rule the way they do? Why should it be this way? Is it not that people are separate from each other, separate from the governments and governments are separate from each other? A billion people — the Moslem population of the world, with all their weapons, are sitting by and Israel commits all those crimes against Lebanon and Palestine. They are sitting by watching, they are viewers. The voices of our brothers from there are so loud, but we are sitting by listening. We are viewers. When will we discover our powers? You have seen in history that Moslems, at the beginning of Islam, with just a few numbers but concentrated and with faith, dominated. In a period of time of less than a half a century, they dominated the known world at that time, because they were together. The weapon of faith was in their hands. We want to take up the weapon of faith which has been put aside and confront those powers with the weapon of faith. You have seen how a nation, small in number, and who had no military weapons, no instruments for warfare, no official soldiers, had the weapon of faith and with this weapon of faith, they dominated upon a satanic force which was supported by all powers.

When do Moslems want to awaken from their sleep and solve the problems between them? Until such time that the problem between them is solved — the problem between themselves and the one between

governments and their people and the problem between the governments themselves — you cannot have the hope that you will reach your glory. We have spoken and written about this for many years. With the Will of God, God will awaken us Moslems and will cause us Moslems to become familiar with our Islamic, our divine duties. With the Will of God, God will grant that our festivals (*id*) will be real festivals, not a festival where we are entangled with the super-powers. May God confirm all of you and give strength to all Moslem countries, give us all faith and help us to solve our problems.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

THE U.S. CAN'T DO A DAMN THING

November 5, 1979. Imam Khomeini gave the following message to the students of the Faculty of Economy of Isfahan University and a Technical Development Group despatched to Kurdistan.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

One of the problems we encounter is the use conspirators make of the feelings of our youth. These conspirators, who found themselves defeated, who could not fight our people, as our people formed a solid unit and were successful in their struggle with those great powers, are now trying to use the pure feelings of our youth to their own benefit. Our youth are not aware of these conspiracies. Although we have transformed and the Revolution has succeeded but has not as yet borne fruit, their aim is to make use of whatever means they have to spread propaganda throughout the country so that our youth despair of the way they have chosen. Our youth, although filled with the purest of sentiments, our hope is dependent upon them, unfortunately do not sit back and consider the sense of their words and talk sense back to them. The conspirators say, 'The Revolution brought no results.' It is up to you young people to reply to those principles which the people originally aimed for.

Let's look and see if success has been achieved or not. Let's look and see what the principles were the day our people rushed into the streets. What did our women, men and youth want? Have their wants been met or not?

What they wanted and what was heard throughout the country, town, streets, lanes, schools and everywhere was independence, freedom and Islamic Republic. These three slogans were chanted by all. During those days, the only aim they had was to overthrow that regime and establish a new system where they would have independence. Following the suffocation of 50 years or more, we could even say 2500 years, we have achieved freedom, no other countries are our masters; no one has

made us their captive. Were these not the original principles? Were not the first principles of our people the same as those three slogans? And they say our Revolution is over but nothing has happened.

They say that the principles which our people first wanted have not been given. They say, 'The system of the monarchy still exists. Suffocation prevails.' 'Consultants of the super-powers are still at work here. They are active and our government or people are still under their rule.'

Freedom

When I tell you these facts, you yourself reply that not only have such aims been attained, but, it is freedom which has brought me and you here together. When did the opportunity exist in the past five years for you to assembly in such a gathering and talk? It is freedom which allows you to talk, to criticize. You can criticize the previous regime and the present government as well. This is freedom. Nobody comes and asks you not to criticize. Therefore, we have attained freedom. It is one of the things our people cried out for and we have attained it.

As for independence, they say the U.S. still governs here. You are aware that at the present time, our youths have occupied this center of corruption. They hold Americans in this center. They took this center of corruption and the U.S. can't do a damn thing about it. Our youth should be confident that the U.S. can't do a damn thing. The talk about, 'in case of military intervention' is nonsense. How can the U.S. militarily intervene in this country? It is impossible for them to do so. At the present time, the attention of all of the people of the world is here. How can the U.S. stand against all the people of the world and militarily intervene? It is a damned act if they choose military intervention. Don't be afraid. Our youth once again respond with feelings as to what we should do if the U.S. should militarily intervene. This 'if' should be forgotten. The U.S. is unable to militarily intervene here.

They have many problems and issues before them. They solve them with difficulty. They can't do such an act. If they could have militarily intervened in Iran, they would have kept the shah with their powers. With the power of propaganda, they struggled to keep him

but our people did not pay any attention to them. Not only were the U.S. powers useless, but all those who stood together to keep the shah here failed.

When this nation wants something, it is impossible to stand against them. Nobody can. No power can. It was not our youth who suggested there may be military intervention. Their intervention is always satanic and conspiratory. When they want to intervene, they encourage our youths to stage a demonstration. Then their elements break through the mob and create turmoil so that we no longer have a free or peaceful environment in order to carry out our programs. They use these satanic ways to push forward. They send their satans to our dear, pure-hearted youth. They create propaganda. They write what they want to do on the walls. We see that they have started our young people to stage an apparently lawful demonstration in the streets. But they essentially want to take unjustified advantage of such a lawful demonstration.

For instance, as to the occupation of the U.S. embassy, that is, the U.S. center of conspiracy, by a great number of our youths, we were informed last night that there is a rumor of large demonstrations to be held in Tabriz and Tehran and other cities in support of Mr. Bazargan. They wanted to have such a demonstration. I do not know whether or not they succeeded. They wanted to raise such an issue.

Plans of the Satans

Their intention is to take a situation to a point of grave consequence. For instance, 'There is the Iraqi embassy, attack it and destroy it.' Or, 'There is the Afghani embassy, attack it and destroy it.' They stir up such things so that our country will stand against all nations. These satans have these plans. Our youth must be aware. They must not be impressed by them. Did Mr. Bazargan, for whom they call the demonstration, oppose the Revolutionary Council? No. This is just a door. Mr. Bazargan had become a little tired. He said, 'Let me sit on the side.' But it does not mean that now that he is in the sidelines, he does not participate in any affairs. He is one of the persons most respected by all. They should not think he has been dishonored. Not at all. He is respected.

But for something which has been accepted by people, they should not rush into the streets and set up something which they want to make a game out of. Suddenly a person is killed and one or two slogans are given. If you recollect, I was not here. But I was informed that once when a group was demonstrating in Qom against the previous regime, they were holding a peaceful demonstration but suddenly, they saw that someone threw something from a corner and broke a window, a window of a bank office, or destroyed a place. Sometimes a person is killed. Then they attempt to stir up others and create a massacre. They act according to plan. Military intervention is not at all considered. In their conspiracies, they make use of our own forces. They do not use their own powers. They use our own powers in our own countries.

What do they benefit from in Kurdistan? An American soldier is not sent to serve there. They use their own satanic tactics. They benefit from persons who are somehow related or dishonest. These dishonest people take advantage of some simple-hearted Kurds. They say something to them and spread the words. Their aim is to destroy Kurdistan. The Iranian army has gone to that territory to prevent their killings, cutting-off heads and torture. Immediately afterwards, they start to write that we, namely, the Government of Iran, want to destroy the Kurds. Our army has gone to safe-guard the Kurds, but they say it has gone to destroy them.

The Number One Enemy

I have not heard anything about the support of the group called Fedayie Khalq (devotees of the people) for the youths who have occupied the embassy. If they are not American, why didn't they support our youth? If they are pro-Russian or non-nationalists, who are they? If they are nationalists, America is their enemy as all of our nation is their enemy because America has kept our number one enemy. They were our enemy when he was here. They were people who had a mission to their own country, namely, a mission to prevent this country from moving one step forward towards progress. We, you and our people, all consider America to be their first enemy. Now that our youth have occupied there and found it to be a center of conspiracy, I have not heard one word of support from the Fedayie Khalq for

our youth. I have not heard anything. Perhaps you may have heard something. If the actions of our youth were, for instance, against the government or against Islam, you would see how they would fan the issue.

One of their plans is just this. I have a copy of it. It is signed by the Fedayie Khalq. They are spreading such lies so that this movement will not reach fruition. They say, 'Nothing has been done in Kurdistan. Nothing. Nothing.' You yourselves have read about all that has been done in spite of all they do to prevent any action of ours. In order for us to do even more, there needs to be a peaceful environment. Can a group asphalt the roads when there is war in a country? It can't be done. Now you have read about all of the things done in Kurdistan, things you yourselves accomplished. God safe-guard you youth. These elements, without any shame whatsoever, say that nothing has been done and it is the same as it was before.

They have written in one of their circulars that political prisoners existed during the time of Mohammad Reza and now they also exist and even, have increased. They have not thought that the political prisoners who are now in jail, were people who during the time of Mohammad Reza Khan were active against the nation. Do you consider thieves to be political prisoners? Do you consider those who have revolted against this country, against their nation, those who have committed treachery, to be political dignataries? Was Nassiri a political dignatary? Was Hoveyda a political dignatary? Or were they thieves? Why do you call them political dignataries? Those who are now in prison are the SAVAK elements. They are criminals and persons who either killed or gave the order for the killing or torturing of our youth.

The Rotten Propaganda

Who was in prison during the time of Mohammad Reza? Which class was in prison? Learned scholars, university educated persons and our national dignataries were in prison. Who is in prison now? Those who are from SAVAK. If you are not from SAVAK, how is it that you consider these persons to be political dignataries? If you have no relation with the former regime, if you are not a part of the SAVAK mec-

hanism and if you do not actively work for SAVAK, how do you write in your articles that political dignataries in prison are more now than during the time of Mohammad Reza? Do you consider thieves to be political dignataries? It is known that your policy is other than the policy desired by our people, our genuine people. If you have no relations with them, how could you say those persons who were in prison during the past regime and are there now are both political dignataries?

During the time when we had prisoners, we had real political prisoners like the deceased Taleqani, like Mr. Montazeri and like Mr. Lakhouti, who were full of knowledge. A great number of such persons were in prison and suffered torture. The leg of one of our respected clergymen was sawed off. We were told that there were many nice and respected people who were in prison for many years, political dignataries other than clergymen who underwent torture and torment, because they were opposed to the regime. Such persons were in prison during that time and now those who are from SAVAK are in prison. These persons who call themselves Fedayie Khalq say nothing has been changed. They think, no, they do not think, rather, they delude themselves by saying that there is no difference between that imprisonment and this. Whether or not thieves are imprisoned or honest persons are imprisoned, or whether or not plunderers and murderers are imprisoned or persons who want to prevent the plundering!

Such is their logic. Our youths must not be deceived by their rotten propaganda. This propaganda is made by America. America does not bring its army here. America brings its writers here. America brings its speakers here. America despatches its own elements which have been trained for many years, in order to stir up trouble.

Political Insanity

America has created such disturbances in Kurdistan. They cause confusion in Tehran and sometimes, they bring disorder to the universities, sometimes they cause people to rush out into the streets. They act in such a way. Today, our youth occupy their den of corruption, in reaction to them keeping God's worst creature, our worst murderer.

He served them and now they use pseudo-humanitarian excuses like wanting to give him medical attention.

Today, at this very moment, conspiracies exist to take advantage of the virtue and sincerity of our youth. Suppose they whisper into their ears, 'England is the same as the U.S. What difference is there? Attack and destroy their embassy.' 'France is the same as they are.' They do not do things in a standard way. Their way is the way of anarchy.

They want people to think that our country is a country of chaos and anarchy where anyone can do anything he wants to do. They want the world to think that we need a guardian. Who is to be its guardian? Mr. Carter, who himself needs a guardian in order to prevent him from killing so many people. They have been struck with political insanity.

They are manic to let so many people be killed and to cause so much corruption. They should go to a mental asylum for medical treatment. Their brains should be given treatment. They want to introduce our people as anarchists. They want to say that our people are savage.

Once I was standing near the scene of a demonstration held by Iranians. It was during the time of Mohammad Reza. An American was standing beside me. He said, 'Look at those savages.' I said to him, 'Are they savages because they are struggling to attain their rights?' They tend to see us as such. Even if we say a right word, they still see us as savages.

Our youth must be aware. They must not believe the words of everyone. One of the things they do is to spray poison around so that we will become disappointed with our Revolution. They say, 'Nothing has been done.' If there are primary tasks, I say they have been accomplished. Secondary tasks are in the process of being performed. Look at the tasks and construction of housing done during the government of Bazargan. These unfair persons say that not even a single house was built. Look at what people have done in the Reconstruction Crusade, look at what service people have rendered to farmers. A great number of tasks have been accomplished. You just mentioned some of them. You have gone everywhere and have rehabilitated all disorderliness. These persons still say nothing has been done. On the other hand, they

are actively involved in seeing that nothing gets done! These persons who introduce themselves as Fedayie Khalq set things on fire with a match. They set the harvest of a peasant on fire with a match. They shoot a gun and make a hole in the oil pipeline so that the oil of our people is wasted.

If America wants to do something, it does so. America does not despatch an army here. America despatches persons worse than an army, civil or military. They use the same words. If an army came forward, we would also go forward. If the American army comes here, we will go forward together as a nation. I will go forward; all of you will go forward. America will not despatch an army. Be quite certain of this. Do not be afraid of America at all and its conspiracies. You youth who are in the universities should neutralize their actions. You should stop them if they intend to cause trouble in the Reconstruction Crusade. You should stop them wherever you are. Do not let them grow. They are the first class servant of those whom we consider to be our first class enemy. I hope that God assists you all and that you be successful.

Do not expect immediate results in a country where everything has been destroyed, where they have escaped and destroyed the economy and left so many debts for our people. They ran away, they agitated everything and ran away. Do not expect everything to be restored quickly now that this Revolution is over. It requires time. A government should be established with your support and the support of the people. Proper elections should be held with the support of the people. People know competent persons. It is not necessary that we train them for years. Not at all. They understand. This nation can distinguish between everything. It knows who is pious and who, at times, pretends to be pious.

Such awareness exists in everyone who has lived for twenty or thirty years among these people and who knows their roots and who they are not. They realize who has charmed coquettishly and who has not. They realize well who the opponent was but they could not talk. People must select those persons whom they know to be in the service of this nation, those who have sympathy towards the deprived class.

We do not intend to establish a House of Lords. The Senate is called the House of Lords. We want to abolish the Lords and make them human. We closed down the doors of that House in which those Lords sat and committed so much treachery against this country. The House of Venerable Old Men, the House of Lords or the Senate, consisted of a group of parasites, old men on the verge of extinction. After all the treachery that they committed in their lifetime, they gathered together and talked with their friends about all the medicine they gave or the food they swallowed from the wealth of the people.

This House is closed down. It is finished. We do not have a Senate any more. We have a Parliament. We do not want our Parliament to be established from among the high class. We intend to enjoy a Parliament consisting of peoples who are aware of the facts that occurred to this nation. You have seen what happened over the fifty years or more during the course of the monarchial system. You have seen the people who passed on this nation. They know other people in their cities and their rural areas. They have observed what they have done during the course of time. In those days, agents did not work in a clandestine manner. They openly tortured the people. Such persons should be put aside and persons who are honest and who are known to them for their honesty, religion and service to the people, should be selected and they should elect them.

Constitutional Law

With the Will of God, Parliament will be established. The Constitutional Law will be put to a vote. It is nearly finished. It will be put to a vote after we read and approve it. If our people show coldness, it is one of the cases in which there is a conspiracy, in order to discourage people from this Constitutional Law. Ask them which article among all articles of this Constitution is a reactionary? Originally the first article which they put their finger on was article five, 'leadership of the theologians'. It is an Islamic pattern and because they are afraid of Islam and they consider Islam to be reactionary, they do not dare call Islam itself reactionary. Rather, they say, Islam wants to take us back 1400 years. The meaning is the same. It is just that they do not use

the word 'Islam'. So many progressive ideas are hidden in the idea of the leadership of the theologians which are not obvious in other articles you see. People themselves elect a person whose ethics, religion and nationalism as well as his knowledge and actions are set. Such a person supervises the situation so that treason is not committed. The same is true of the President whom people themselves elect. With the Will of God, they will appoint an honest person from now on. But, nevertheless, an expert, religious theologian, who has spent his whole life in theology and has served Islam for a lifetime, is elected for precautions measures to observe what he does, lest he does wrong. Our coming President will not do wrong but precautions measures have been taken in order to prevent it from ever happening. Our military, gendarmerie and other high-ranking leaders are no longer persons who are treacherous. But precautions measures have been taken so that the theologian, as an observer, supervises sensitive affairs. This is among the most progressive articles they approved in the Constitutional Law.

Democracy

The same persons who shouted and wrote, 'Who needs Islam. Let's have a Republic', are afraid of Islam. They say, 'Let it be a Democracy or a Democratic Republic.' They do not understand that there are so many democracies known today in the world but do you know any country in which the great powers have acted on the basis of democracy? The word democracy is used in a special way by everyone. It has a special meaning to the Russians. It has another meaning to the Americans. It had a special meaning for Aristotle. Today, it has another meaning. We say that we do not want to include something which is ambiguous and is interpreted everywhere in a different sense in our Constitution, so that later on anyone could change it according to his or her own option. We say Islam. Islam does not intimate a different meaning in every place. Islam is clear and every Moslem knows what it means. We say Islamic Republic. Our people have also asked for an Islamic Republic. It is this which our people agreed to in a vote of 98.2%. 1.8% is not a significant opposition.

From the very beginning they opposed it. Those who were again-

at the Islamic Republic at that time, were afraid of Islam and not a Republic. Now they oppose the Assembly of Experts. Before that, they opposed the election of the Assembly. Later they opposed the Assembly of Experts. The time will come when they will oppose Parliament and then the referendum for the Constitution. Their problem is 'why Islam?' whereas our people know their goal to be Islam. Our people find their fulfillment in Islam. Islam possesses both the present and the future world. Our people want Islam. If our people only wanted a Republic, all of them would beat their chests and congratulate everyone.

Since it is paired with the word Islam, they oppose it and call it reactionary. They consider Islam to be reactionary. They consider God to be reactionary. They are this kind of people! If they only had faith, but they have not had any up to the present time. They dislike the Prophet of Islam more than they dislike you because he has laid the foundation. It was a reactionary act which your nation of reactionaries performed. You removed the hands of treacherous persons from this country and they consider it reactionary. It was reactionary of you to choose to govern your own destiny. I do not know when they will awaken, when they will desist from their wrong actions and opposition. I regret that a group which should serve this country, should not appreciate that this nation gave their blood, threw out plunderers, removed the hands of parasites, punished some of the murderers and some others will receive punishment, with the Will of God. I regret the fact that they don't come onto the field and agree with this nation. The nation has given its everything. You now sit freely and leisurely in your rooms and write against this nation. One regrets the reflections they have. Again, reactionary. Reactionary. If you opened their hearts they would return to saying, 'Islam is reactionary,' but they do not dare say it. Some obviously have said it and then repented but it is not known whether or not their repentance is true.

Everything has been done

Our nation should awaken along with our youth. They should realize that America does not enter our battlefield with arms, but rather it

comes with the pen. It does not come here with a military force, rather it will enter our battlefield with those persons who direct these affairs. You must be careful not to become tools in their hands by cooling-off and thinking that nothing has been done. Everything has been done. Do you consider the act of breaking down a satanic power which was supported by all the great powers to have been a trifle act? Not only did the great powers accept them, but the second class powers as well? What do you want higher than this? You have attained a reputation in the world as well as a sense of greatness which no one else enjoys. Do not destroy it for the sake of the fact that, for example, in a certain place, there is less asphalt road than in another place. Did you give the blood of your children in order to get asphalted roads? Did you want asphalt? You acted for the sake of God. Acting for God is much higher than asphalt. It is higher than anything else. Do not sit and say and come here and complain about the affairs. Leave such complaints for a later time. We are now in the middle of the way. We must destroy this power. We must choke this conspiracy. It is conspiracies like this which persuade you to come and say that nothing has been done.

May God protect you. May the Will of God protect you all. God willing, He will save our youth. Our young people have been active from the beginning and they still are. They devoted themselves to us and to Islam. I pray for them. I am at their service. I would go and serve like them if I could, but I am an old man who is sitting here with nothing but a stammering tongue. God protect you all and give you success in all affairs.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

WE FEAR NEITHER MILITARY ACTION NOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

November 12, 1979. Imam Khomeini's reply to the message of Pope John Paul II through his envoy Msgr. Anibale Bugnini.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

At this sensitive stage, I would not have accepted to meet an official concerning this matter, but out of respect for the Christian leader, I am happy to make an exception, since it gives me the opportunity to reply to the message which the Pope has sent.

In my opinion and in the opinion of my people, rather, I should say, in the opinion of all the deprived nations of the world, whether Moslem, Christian or belonging to any other religion, one issue is unclear. I would like to clarify this issue. The 35 million people of Iran, as well as the millions of deprived peoples of the world who have been under the yoke of oppression and the pressure of colonialism, particularly on the part of the United States, expressed most recently by pressure applied by Carter, have all been waiting for a kind word from the Pope all these years. They expected the Pope to at least give a stern warning to the U.S. and other powers that have been exploiting the deprived nations of the world.

For fifty years, the noblest of our youth have been killed and undergone inhuman and savage torture by agents of the shah and the U.S. During all these years, the Pope neither supported our oppressed people nor made an effort to mediate. All of a sudden, when our youth, who had been under pressure and who had suffered for many years, took over the den of espionage and arrested some persons in that house of spies, against whom there is sufficient evidence of wrong-doing, the Pope has decided to mediate.

Center for Espionage and Conspiracy

The best evidence is that in the course of the three hours while the

youth were struggling to penetrate the den of spies, the Embassy personnel were busy destroying the documentary evidence, leaving only a pile of powder behind. If the building were truly an Embassy and if these papers were truly Embassy documents, there would have been no need to destroy them so hastily.

Now that the conspiring has been made evident to us, conspiracy not only against Iran, but against Islam and against humanity in general, our people both within and outside the country, along with the people of other nations, are supporting this brave act. Embassies are not permitted to spy and it is our legal right to prevent them from spying. Experts have shown that the U.S. embassy was a center of espionage and conspiracy. Now that the conspiratory purpose has been proven, the action of our youth has been supported and confirmed by every sector of our community, except the few who have deviated. This indicates that it is an action deeply desired by our nation and not just a matter of caprice.

What has caused the Pope suddenly to decide that this is the occasion to intervene for the sake of humanitarian feelings and asks that the conspirators be released? A human being should treat his enemies well. As I understand, our Moslem students have behaved with humanity towards them so no one need be concerned about that.

Now, about their release. We must consider the result toward which our nation is directed. Is the object of our young people in taking this center actually inhumane? What has made our young people occupy the center of conspiracy and put a stop to its activities? Are they, in fact, opposed to human rights?

Our nation wants back the man who is now in America and has caused our nation and people to suffer for thirty-seven years of his treachery. That man ruled for thirty-seven years and stifled our nation and our young people who had no freedom or human existence under his oppression. His henchmen admit that with their own hands on the 15th of Khordad, 1342 (June 5, 1963), they murdered masses of people. They massacred over 100,000 and maimed 100,000 more. This long-suffering nation only wants its criminal back, to be justly tried. If he is found guilty of having plundered our wealth, it should be

taken away from him. How did he and his agents earn and gather such a huge amount of wealth which is all stored in foreign banks in the U.S. and other countries of the West?

I myself and those who are my age have lived through the age when his father, Reza Khan, who had nothing, staged his coup d'etat. He was a simple soldier. But when he took control, he forcibly seized the lands of the people. The green lands of Mozandaran in the north were seized by his agents on his claim that they belonged to him. Any landowner or religious man who protested, was put into prison and some were even killed.

I, and those my age, still remember the massacre at the Gowhar Shad Mosque in Mashhad. They entered the shrine during the ritual prayer and killed many innocent people who had gathered to pray. When Reza Khan left Iran, he took trunkfuls of Iran's jewels with him. The British took them from him during his exile and there has been no news of them since!

After him, the Allied powers imposed his criminal son upon our nation. Our people, considering what they had suffered at the hands of Reza Khan, were not willing to accept the son of Reza Khan. But they imposed him upon us and this allowed them to impose anything else they wanted. He had done countless treacherous deeds during his rule, beyond number. One of his deeds was, with the excuse of defending the country, to buy arms in return for the oil which he exported to the U.S. Because the equipment and weapons were from the U.S., military bases were established here. He gave our oil and with the income which belonged to the people, he established military bases for them. During the last 15 years, he has committed other treacheries and killed more of our young people than can be counted.

Pressure from the Allies

We had expected that during this period there would have been a kind word towards our deprived nation from one of the foreign religious leaders, in particular, the leader of the Christian world. I cannot believe that the Vatican is not aware of these facts. I do not know how to explain this unclear issue. I am asked by my nation whether or not

the religious Christian community agrees with the crimes which the shah committed. How should I answer them?

The Christian clergy know that the Holy Qoran has stressed belief in Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. The Qoran has also supported the efforts of Christian saints and scholars. We expected the Pope to ask about what was happening in our nation. Why doesn't he ask Carter why he accepted such a man like the shah over the will of the people. Ask Carter why the U.S. is protecting such an obviously treacherous man, a murderer, who ruled over thirty years in this country. Are they intending to conspire against this nation in this way?

We are not surprised that Carter is making every effort towards this purpose, because he is a politician. But it is not sound politics. It is a politics which merely protects personal interests and profit and gives free license to commit any crime and justify heinous acts. Carter is afraid that those who have been taken as hostages will tell us something of the conspiracies of the U.S. in this country. It is natural that Carter makes every effort possible to secure their release but we are astonished as to why the Pope should intermeddle with an oppressed nation whose intention is to make the oppressions which occurred in this country clear, to show them to other people and to the deprived nations of the world. Why have they performed so many oppressions? We only want to put a traitor and criminal on trial.

Trial in the Presence of the Pope's Representatives

If it were feasible, we would be willing to see him tried in another country. But all of the dossiers of the crimes he committed are in this country. There are millions of witnesses who live in Iran. The oppressed farmers, laborers, religious scholars, university students are all witnesses. How is it possible that more than 20 million people be taken out of the country to bear witness. But out of respect for the Pope, we are prepared to conduct our trial in the presence of his representative and even representatives of our deadly enemy, Carter.

The Pope should know that this is not a case which can be personally solved by me. Neither I nor anyone else can impose anything on our nation. Islam does not allow dictatorship. We have to follow

the way of the nation. Almighty God and the Prophet of Islam have not permitted anyone to impose anything upon his nation.

It is possible that I might request them to do something, a humble request, a request that a servant of a nation asks of his nation. But the main point is that this problem is not in my hands, I obey the will of the people, and the people of Iran have supported the student's action. You may have heard the radio's announcement of support from many groups throughout Iran.

The care we are seeking is a humanitarian care. The problem is that it be in agreement with human rights. Our nation, as a Moslem nation, is devoted to human rights. You who are a Christian, follow Jesus Christ. You should also look after and protect human rights. It is human rights which makes our nation insist that the man be tried, so that those who supported and helped him be made known and people be made aware of his role as an enemy of humanity. Who obliged him to use all his power to oppress us, to commit crimes against us and spoil all of our resources? Let this be a lesson for all nations.

Therefore, I ask the Pope to contact Carter, who appealed to him, and try to clear up these problems, and send representatives to study them properly. Does the Pope realize that all of the oppressions, massacres, plundering were wrong and all of the resources which were taken from this poor nation were taken wrongly? Does the Pope realize that all of the wealth and resources of this nation have been stored in foreign banks through him., while our poor people are still living in slums, even near Tehran. They have no house, no bread and no jobs? If he has not heard these things before, I bring them to his attention now. Considering all these facts, he can hardly declare that we should release the hostages without the shah being returned to stand trial here, because he and anyone else who comes to realize the situation certainly opposes these crimes.

A Just Trial

We are asking for nothing illegal. Our request is one which everyone in the world could accept except Carter. The problem is that the

U.S. is harboring a criminal who killed our young people. He has burned them, tortured them and sawed off their feet. Our request is that he be delivered to us, in order to be justly tried in the presence of representatives from all the nations of the world.

If we were not right, the people would accept that man back on the throne. Carter acts with might, not right. It is up to the Pope, considering his spiritual influence, to make this clear to Carter. You should know that those who argue against this point in the name of Jesus Christ, may be ignoring the movement of the people in their own countries.

The Pope should consider the respect of Christian nations and all of the deprived and abased people of the world. He should look after the honor of Christians. He must declare to people like Carter who are acting in the name of Jesus Christ that their actions are in opposition to the way of Jesus Christ. You must mention the crimes of Carter to people as we did in the case of Mohammad Reza. The people knew him but we tried to explain his traits more precisely. You must follow the same procedure. We would be most grateful to you.

If Jesus Christ Were Alive Today

Considering the fact that we are oppressed, we ask you for judgment. You must provide salvation for the Christian nations. Nations must be saved from actions which are performed in the name of Jesus Christ and Christianity but which are in reality, crimes. These actions hurt the reputation of Jesus Christ and Christianity.

If Jesus Christ were alive today, he would condemn Carter. If he were alive today, he would release us from the clutch of this enemy of the people, the enemy of all humanity. You are a representative of Jesus Christ and thus you must do what he would do.

I pray that God awakens you to your divine and religious duties in that all of them be directed towards oppressed people. We hope the Pope turns his attention towards this oppressed nation. We apologize that under the present circumstances, we cannot accept his suggestion. But he should know that the hostages are being well-treated. I ask that you, as the representative of the Pope, personally go to visit them. See

the condition of their surroundings. Speak with them and ask them whether they are comfortable or not. Certainly they are comfortable.

Military Action and Economic Sanctions

Carter is like a drowning man. On the one hand, he threatens Iran with military action and on the other, with economic sanctions. It is regretful that a man who claims to be an Iranian, Bakhtiar, and who says, 'I am an Iranian before I am a Moslem,' is neither Iranian nor Moslem, when he proposes that Carter impose economic sanctions. He is now in England. He believes himself to be a nationalist. He is a living example of what I mentioned before.

I said that the super-powers have been keeping someone for the last twenty or thirty years in a political movement or front while that person is their agent and their servant. He seeks shelter under the word 'nationalist', such as Bakhtiar did when he attached himself to Dr. Mosadeq and announced himself to be a nationalist. They are using him after twenty years. He spent many years in the National Front, claiming to be an Iranian nationalist by saying, 'I am an Iranian first, then a Moslem.' We see that he is being groomed as a substitute for God's worst creature, Mohammad Reza. Bakhtiar murdered many people and he ordered many crimes and massacres but the people did not obey him. Now he suggests that economic sanctions should be imposed upon Iran.

We fear neither military action nor economic sanctions, because we are followers of the Imams who gladly welcomed martyrdom. Our nation today welcomes martyrdom with joy. Even if America intervenes militarily, we are not afraid. There are 35 million Iranians who are ready to face the U.S. and ready to die for the sake of justice.

We are a fighting people. We are not afraid. Our youth have stood against tanks, cannon fire and machine guns. So Mr. Carter cannot threaten us with armed fire. We are fighters, even though we do not have the equipment America has.

From the economic point of view, I can tell you that our nation is used to hunger. We have had these troubles for thirty years. If they use economic sanctions against us, we will fast. They are wrong to think

that an economic blockade would affect us. The wheat and oats which we plant will be sufficient for us. We will eat meat once a week. We will have one meal a day. We are not afraid of such threats. If we had to decide between defending our honor or filling our stomachs, we will remain hungry.

I ask you to deliver my greetings to the Pope and convey my request through our mutual religious ties and our belief in One God that he assist this oppressed nation by giving wise and fatherly counsel to the super-powers.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

AMERICAN DOMINATION OF OUR MOVEMENT MEANS DOMINATION OF MOSLEMS

November 22, 1979. Imam Khomeini's message to the officers of the Pakistan Armed Forces and General Navaz upon their return from the pilgrimage.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

How blessed you are that you were able to make the Pilgrimage to the center of revelation and Medina, the center of the mission. May God accept you, our brothers', pilgrimage. We are brothers with all Moslem countries. We are one with them in their sorrow and their happiness and we hope that they are one in ours. Today, our country is confronted by a great satanic power which has illegally ruled our Moslem nations and other eastern countries for one hundred years. In the last 50 years, their agents, father and son, Reza Khan and Mohammad Reza, have committed oppressions and crimes. Towards the end, their crimes increased with the support of super-powers, in particular, the United States.

Our nation could tolerate the crimes no longer. Trusting in God and Islam, as well as having the Unity of Word, we revolted and destroyed the corrupt monarchical regime and established the Islamic Republic here.

While we are busy reconstructing the ruins which have been created in this country during the time of the domination of savage foreigners and cleansing it of their agents, we are confronted by the United States. We know that the countries of our brothers and Islamic nations were occupied by oppression and threats at the same time as we were.

We hope that just as we revolted against the oppressors, our brother Moslem nations who live under the force and pressure of oppression will also revolt. I am pleased to hear the Pakistani people have stood up against the United States and that their universities have been

closed for three days. This is most heartening news for our oppressed nation that it is not left alone. All Moslems must become as one hand. They must become one unit, gather together and become one. They should not know each other to be separate from each other. They must not consider borders to be causes of division.

If Moslems combine together, they will become a great power. They have a great deal of resources. If they unite with each other, in spite of their frontiers, their hearts will unite and they will become a great power. They are a great population of more than one billion people. They have many resources and are not in need of other countries. On the contrary, other countries need them. Unfortunately, the false propaganda of history has made them frightened of the super-powers. The super-powers used propaganda to frighten them so that we will think that they are unconquerable and that they will destroy any nation which breathes.

Invitation from Moslem Nations

We have seen that it is all propaganda. The super-powers cannot play with the destiny of a country when its people unite with each other. We trust in God. We trust in Islam. God and Islam are our supports. We hope all Moslem nations will join us in the confrontation between Islam and disbelief. Our confrontation with the United States is a confrontation between Islam and disbelief. If they dominate our movement, with the Will of God, this will never be, they will have dominated Islam and Moslems. All Moslems should realize that it is not simply a question of our existence or non-existence but it is a question of the whole destiny of Islam and Moslems. This is why all Moslems must participate in this struggle. If, God forbid, our movement is weakened or destroyed, all eastern countries, and, in particular, all Moslems, will be dominated and destroyed.

I request all Moslem nations, all Moslem armies, all Moslem military forces and all heads of Islamic countries to cooperate with our movement and join us in this confrontation between Islam and disbelief which is not a confrontation between Iran and the United States, but between all disbelief and the whole of Islam.

Moslems must arise so that they will be victorious in this confrontation. They must not be afraid because the United States is a super-power and they will destroy us. They are a satanic power. It is all propaganda. The United States can do nothing against Moslems. All they can do is show off. The attention of the world is revited upon this confrontation. They are waiting to see what will happen.

There have been many discrepancies in the United States. The American Black people, who have been oppressed in the United States, are in agreement with us. They may also revolt. All Moslems must support us at this most sensitive junction and believe in themselves. They must know Iran to be the same as other Moslem nations such as Pakistan, Iraq, Indonesia, etc. All of them must arise and demonstrate against the oppression that the United States is committing against us.

Childish Motive

A criminal has burned this country for 50 years. He imprisoned people. He carried out several massacres. He painted the cobblestone and asphalt of our streets with the blood of our youth. He stole and robbed our resources. They have given this criminal, who has committed all these crimes, refuge which is against all international laws. According to international law, a criminal should be tried in his own country, but they are keeping him with the use of a childish motive. Now that we ask for his return, they try to frighten us with their navy entering the Persian Gulf. They try to frighten us with their planes. What are we frightened of? Are we afraid of their planes? Do we fear their navy? We are a people who cherish martyrdom. Our people desire martyrdom. How can they frighten a nation which wishes for martyrdom? They frighten us with death. Our people consider martyrdom to be an honor, they frighten us with death? Death is frightening to those who do not believe in the hereafter. What do those who believe in God and the Day of Judgment fear by death?

Carter Makes a Mistake

Carter makes mistakes. He believes he can use military intervention here. The world will not allow it. The people of the United States

will not permit it. It is not an easy matter for the United States to slaughter our nation. He cannot do it and even if he could, our people would fight him with tooth and nail and destroy those forces.

Our young people have announced that in the case of military intervention, they will blow up the U.S. embassy with all the hostages. We cannot prevent our young people from seeking their right and demanding the return of a person who killed their brothers, their fathers and their husbands. What do they expect? Do they expect the United States to make a mistake and our people to remain silent and watch while they come and their parachutists come. Let them try. How can they? We will destroy all of them even if we ourselves be killed. Yes. We will destroy them.

My brothers, convey my greetings to your army and tell them on my behalf that their Iranian brothers are confronting disbelief. You must arise. The army of Pakistan will arise against the oppression which is being committed to their brothers here. Our revolution is against disbelief. This will influence your destiny. If Iran is defeated, the East is defeated. If Iran is defeated, the oppressed are defeated. All of us must unite and arise and push this corrupt state out of our history or at least out of our countries. In this way, they will not be able to send their consultants, agents and plunderers to plunder us. We have to remove such thoughts from their minds and we will.

May God grant all of our brothers security, honor and well-being. May God strengthen Islam. May God strengthen the Moslem armies. May God protect those Moslem heads of state who support Islam and serve Moslems. God bless all of you.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

MR. CARTER'S FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THE DEPTH OF THE PRESENT ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IS HIS WORSE FAULT

November 25, 1979. Imam Khomeini's reply to sixteen well-known Liberation Movements throughout the world. The following is the text of the Imam's message which was sent to the liberation movements organizations of Algeria.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

We appreciate having received your cable in support of the oppressed people of Iran and of their arising to demand their rights from the government of the United States of America. You know that the criminal and the traitor, the deposed shah, who brought so much destruction to Iran during his rule, who plundered the resources and the treasury of our nation and by whose acts the nation has mourned the loss of its brave youths, has now been provided shelter by the American government.

It is the undeniable right of a nation to call a person who is a criminal to justice, and it is an unquestionable provision in international law which calls for the trial of a criminal in the country where he committed his crimes. Mr. Carter has breached all human rights with the aid of bayonets, in response to a nation which is only asking for its rights. He has initiated plots and made attempts to frighten Iran with threats of military interference and economic blockade. Mr. Carter's reasoning is such that it makes him resort to military might in response to the just demands of a nation. Mr. Carter's principles are typical of the Middle Ages and the law of the jungle that prevail over all other human and international laws. This is the logic of oppressors in their dealings with the oppressed people. Any power which does not stem from human and divine principles will blind the eyes and will corrupt the mind.

Mr. Carter's failure to understand and recognize the depth of the present Islamic movement is the worst of his faults. People like him look down upon the present movements. They look down upon the nations which have rid themselves of the yoke of dependence. They have the typical melancholic ideas and lunacy of the powerful, the oppressors. The Islamic nations must awaken the illusions of people through the Unity of the Word and their trust in God. The east, all of the nations of the oppressed people, the super-powers and the oppressors should find their due place and that which they are looking for. The oppressed people should rid themselves of their bondage to satanic propaganda and find the true power of the populous. The super-powers are aware of the poverty of the oppressed when faced with developing nations.

I pray for world peace and hope for the curtailment of cruelty. You dear brothers who have arisen in revolt for the freedom of your countries, it is now time that you warn your nations and liberate the minds of your fellow countrymen from the effects of intimidation when confronted by the West and that of the oppressors. Join our movement which is the Islamic movement of the oppressed people.

Islam finds itself today faced with irreligion and the logic of violence. Our movement is an Islamic one. It is the movement of the oppressed people of the world previous to its being the movement of the people of Iran. I call all Moslems of the world and all oppressed nations to arise. I call on the endless oceans of human beings throughout the world to arise and protect their national and Islamic flags.

Israel took Jerusalem from the hands of the Moslems and later found herself benefitting from the lack of initiative of the governments. Now, apparently the United States and its colony, Israel, has decided to maintain control of the great mosque and the Prophet's mosque. I see that Moslems are still sitting by quietly showing indifference. You Moslems of the world, it is now time for you to arise and defend Islam and the place of prophetic revelations. Do not be afraid of the problems facing you. Islam needs you today and you are responsible to God Almighty. Trust in God and proceed under one banner.

We support all oppressed nations. This is a duty which has been entrusted to us by Islam. We protect you and any person in any part

f the world who arises to rescue his nation. We totally support our Palestinian brothers against the usurper Israel and, God willing, we will triumph over the enemies of humanity. May the Divine assistance and the triumph of Moslems be near. I pray to God Almighty for the health and prosperity of you all.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

LET THE CHURCH BELLS RING FOR THE DEPRIVED AND ABASED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

December 23, 1979. Imam Khomeini gave the following message on the occasion of Christmas. In this message, the Imam once again seriously condemns the U.S. government's policy of criminal interference in the affairs of other countries and particularly, in Iran. The Imam, in quoting some verses from the Qoran and the Bible, invites all of the Christians of the world, especially the Christian leaders and priests to support the rights of the deprived nations.

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

O ye who believe! Always stand up for God, bearing witness with justice, and let not hatred of a people incite you not to act equitably. Act ye equitably that is nearer to piety. Fear ye God. Verily God is aware of what ye do. (5:8)

Blessed are they who hunger and thirst for justice, for they shall be filled. (Mathew, 5)

Blessed are those who endeavour for justice for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven. (Mathew, 5)

On the blessed occasion of Christmas, the birthday of Jesus Christ, the most respected Prophet who was appointed by God to support the oppressed and establish justice and mercy and through his divinely inspired words and angelic deeds, condemn oppressors and tyrants and support the oppressed, deprived and abased people, I offer my greetings to all of the oppressed nations of the world, Christian nations and Christians of Iran and the rest of the world.

Fathers of the Church, Christian clergy, followers of Jesus Christ arise! Rise up and support the oppressed and deprived people of the world who have been seized by the claws of the arrogant. Let your church bells for once ring for the oppressed people of Iran and for the denunciation of the oppressors so that God's will be done and the edicts of Jesus Christ be obeyed.

Carter, the leader of the oppressors of the world, has demanded that church bells throughout America, ring for the sake of spies against the oppressed people of Iran. It would be appropriate if you rang the church bells by the command of God and the edict of Jesus Christ for the deprived nations whose existence has fallen under the boots of Carter's executioners.

Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for justice, who are trying to establish justice. Woe be unto those who, contrary to the edicts of Jesus Christ and all the prophets, labor on behalf of the oppressors and spies and trample on the rights of nations.

Nations and disciples of Jesus Christ, the spirit of God, arise! Rise and defend the honor of Jesus Christ and Christian nations. Do not allow your enemies to misuse the divine teachings and oppose heavenly decrees and misrepresent Christian nations and Christian spiritual leaders to the oppressed nations of the world.

Do not be deceived by the presence of the super-powers in churches and their praying for spies and traitors, who oppose the oppressed and deprived peoples. Their only thought is greater power and attaining leadership of the world which is in contrast to the divine teachings. Our nation has for years suffered in anguish from the hypocrisy of oppressors.

Nations of Christ! Ask yourself why it is that Mr. Carter did not pray and did not ask that church bells ring for the massacres in Iran, Vietnam, Palestine and Lebanon and other areas? But now, in order to be re-elected as President of the U.S. and in order to continue several more years of oppression against weaker nations, he prays and asks that the church bells ring out.

Fathers of the Church, arise! Rise and release Jesus Christ from the claws of these executioners because that great prophet resents the oppressor who uses religion as a means of oppression, who prays to ascend to the throne of oppression, who oppresses humanity. All divine teachings, descended from Heaven, are to save the oppressed peoples.

All deprived people of the world, arise! Rise and unite. Push the oppressors off the stage because the earth belongs to God and the deprived are its inheritors.

EVERYTHING RELATING TO JESUS CHRIST WAS A MIRACLE

American people! Do not listen to the propaganda of Presidents because their only thought is to attain power. Rest assured that our youth treat the spies fairly because Islam commands one to have mercy upon captives, even if they are oppressors or spies.

American people! Demand Carter to hand over the criminal, the deposed shah, to Iran. He is the key to the release of the spies. Christians! Pray and ring your church bells and ask God to render your Presidents with justice and equity. Blessed are those who seek and pray for justice.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

December 27, 1979. Imam Khomeini met with six Christian priests who had come to Iran to visit the hostages. At this meeting, Dr. Thomas Ericks, Georgetown University professor of Middle Eastern history, thanked the Iranian people for their hospitality. He said they had gone to the Behesht-i-Zahra Cemetery in Tehran to pray for the late Ayatollah Khomeini and the martyrs of the Iranian Revolution. He went on to say that he prayed to God to guide them to find other ways to face the present crisis in order to turn the current confrontation into cooperation. While humanity is going towards violence and war, the way of God is pointed towards peace and forgiveness. The Imam, in reply made the following comments.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Greetings to all the oppressed nations of the world, the Christian nations, and our Christian compatriots on the occasion of Christmas. Everything relating to Jesus Christ was a miracle. It was a miracle that he was born of a virgin mother. It was a miracle that he spoke in his cradle. It was a miracle that he brought humanity peace, happiness and spirituality. All the prophets were miracles, and they came to shape humanity. They all want humanity to take the straight, divine path, and for everyone to live in peace, happiness and fraternity.

The people of the world are today afflicted by the great satanic powers who prevent the teachings of the prophets from being realized. The Christian clergy have many peculiarities, as the super-powers are Christians or lay claims to Christianity. In contradiction to the words of God the Almighty, the super-powers act against Jesus Christ's teachings. According to the teachings of Christ and Almighty God, the Christian clergy have a duty to wage a spiritual war against the super-powers who act contrary to the way of the prophets and the way of Christ.

You went to Behesht-i-Zahra and saw some of the martyrs' graves. Wherever you go in Iran, you will see such graves. You have not seen our wounded. Everywhere in Iran you will see people who have lost their limbs or have been injured under the old regime and are unable to lead normal lives. I wish you Christian clergymen could stay in Iran for a while and travel to various towns, villages and hamlets to see the results of the crimes committed by the deposed shah who was supported by American presidents. I wish you could go and see the crimes of those imposed on us by U.S. presidents.

But you can see what they did to our youths in underground cells just because our youth wanted independence for the country. Time is lacking now for even a brief account of the crimes they committed against our youths. Suffice it to say that they amputated the limbs of many of our youths, they charred or broiled many others, and cut off the limbs of many children in front of their parents so that the parents would confess. They did things which it would be shameful to tell. They did all this on the grounds that they were commissioned by the big powers, that they had a mission to fulfill in this country. They committed crimes here and put the blame on the U.S. government for what they did. They did things to foul the name and holiness of Jesus Christ in the eyes of the people. Christian clergymen have a responsibility to rescue Jesus from this entanglement to which your presidents have brought him. Jesus looks to Christian clergymen and scholars. He is looking at you with intent eyes to see what you will do with these cruel people who acted like this towards others.

Have you ever brought up or discussed such crimes in your churches? Has the Pope ever done anything about these crimes? Has the Pope condemned us because we have kept the hostages? Does the Pope know what jobs these people had? Is it in keeping with the dignity of a clergyman to condemn an oppressed nation? Would it be justified to condemn a nation which was under the yoke of governments which only apparently adhered to Christianity? Did any person among the Christian clergy ever protest against the cruel crimes which were committed in Iran?

On the occasion of the birthday of Jesus Christ, we wrote an

article about the crimes which had been committed in Iran, but to our regret we heard that the Pope would not approve the printing of our article. Why should the Christian clergy have such an attitude towards the oppressed peoples?

Why should the followers of the gospel of the Lord Jesus condemn us, and why should they be biased towards acts of cruelty? Are you not aware that they have plundered the wealth of this country? And that they have left behind a hungry nation? Do you not know that they subjected this nation to oppression and torture over a period of 50 years and that they robbed her whole wealth to pay the big powers? Does the Christian clergy not know that in blatant violation of the teachings of the prophets and of Jesus, Mr. Carter has frozen the assets of Iran in all banks? Do you realize how they want to exert pressure on an oppressed nation? Do you know that by his proposal for economic sanctions, Mr. Carter intends to kill a nation of 35 million by starvation.

Is the Pope aware of all this or has he been misinformed about events in Iran? If he is, it is a misery for us, for the Christian world and for the Christian clergy, and if he is not, it is a disgrace for the Vatican. Why should you people who have come here not give an account of the issues here as you see them? Would the Vatican not rely on your words? Would the Vatican only accept reports from the big powers?

Are you aware of the U.S. mass media's war against us? Do you realize that all this propaganda in the United States is precisely against the demands of the oppressed people in the world? But you say it is not your responsibility to prevent all this misleading propaganda. The Pope apparently is not responsible for checking the acts of those who are waging war against us with their pens and by other practical means. If this is not his responsibility, then whose is it? Whoever on the earth should propagate Christianity? Whose duty is it to teach people the gospel?

But the sufferings here are varied and many, and time is lacking for us to investigate the pains and afflictions of the oppressed nation. But I would like to send a message to the American nation, to the clergy in the United States and to the Christian clergy through you. I

call on you all to save Christianity, to save the oppressed masses now, at this moment when the Messiah and Christianity are facing a challenge and so is the Pope.

On this holy day, which should be a day of peace, the U.S. President has started wars everywhere. He suppresses the oppressed while the Christian clergy are silent onlookers. May God Almighty save mankind from the evils of those who act against the Divine teachings, against the teachings of the Kingdom of Heaven and may God Almighty rescue the oppressed from the claws of the oppressors.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT'S CONFERENCE CONVENES IN IRAN

January 6, 1980. The Six-day World Liberation Movement's Conference was attended by representatives of tens of liberations movements from different countries, who were invited by Moslem Students Adhering to the Imam's Line. The conference opened with a message from Imam Khomeini.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

Now that a number of the Liberation Movements and a group who struggle in order to gain freedom have gathered together in Iran to see and understand our country at close hand, and sense our difficulties, it has been suggested that we send them a message.

I do not know where to begin. Should I begin with the difficulties that have been imposed upon our people throughout history and in particular, in the present century or should I begin with the difficulties which the arrogant and super-powers have imposed upon the deprived of the world? Whom should I cry out against? The men in power, the oppressors, the plunderers who bear witness to the crimes of oppressors and who do not rise up in revolt? Or should I complain of the people who have willingly consented to being slaves in the hands of foreigners and who do not follow the example of the bold and the brave people of Iran to defeat the super-powers? A nation which with its bare hands, but a sincere faith, has succeeded in bringing the criminal U.S. government to its knees, expel the ex-shah and which, God willing, will continue its struggle until such time as it puts an end to all manifestations of dependence. Or should I complain of the Islamic governments which have the weapon of oil at their disposal and other resources whereby they could make the West and East yield to them but who themselves do not use this weapon for freeing themselves from the yoke of the imperialism of the West or East?

Liberation movements and movements in pursuit of independence and freedom! Rise in revolt. Tell your nations and Iranian nations that

it is more disgraceful and shameful to submit to oppressions and cruelty than it is to do injustice to others. Tell your governments to rescue themselves from the self-imposed lassitude and abjection. Tell them all to turn to Islam and to Islamic brotherhood.

Oh you impoverished masses of the world! Arise in revolt and rescue yourselves from the claws of the enemies of humanity. Do not continue to submit to injustice, for God will aid the oppressed.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

THE IRANIAN NATION SHOULD BE A MODEL FOR OTHER NATIONS

January 10, 1980. Representatives of the world liberation movements met with Imam Khomeini. In his speech to the visiting members of the liberation movements, the Imam said that the super-powers depend on the third world countries for much of their needs and that one day, if the countries of the third world would use the weapons which they already have at their disposal, the super-powers would be subjugated. The following is the text of the Imam's speech.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

I thank you very much gentlemen for having come here to see at close hand the conditions of the country. I am afraid, however, that you cannot see everything. For more than 50 years our nation has been embroiled in chaotic conditions that were created by two illegal and cruel rulers. One of them, Reza Khan, was imposed upon us by the British, and the second one by the three governments of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. One cannot enumerate the crimes that were committed against this nation during this past century, since the documents of these criminal acts are not all available. There is not any one person who can claim to be cognizant of all the crimes that were committed in this country. Nobody knows, except for the men who ruled here in the past, and except, perhaps, for their close relatives and the insiders. Therefore, it is impossible for you to witness the whole of the documents pertaining to such crimes. At best, you can only learn by word of mouth, or you may perhaps have seen just a small group of the people who were injured and became invalids in their struggle against the past regime. But the nations of the east will not reach independence unless they realize that the east is a geographical area like any other place in the world and that they, too, are nations, by no means inferior to any other nation.

The east has long since lost its identity in its confrontation with the west. The people of the east have lost their cultural identity.

They have lost the great culture of Islam which is by far superior to resources, but they have taken everything from you and above that, they have sowed discord among people. They have also beguiled our youth in two ways: first, they have distorted the culture of the east, and secondly, they have published their own ideologies which have even failed in their own countries. But due to their widespread propaganda, our youth have taken to these ideologies. In still another invasion, they established places for demoralizing our youth; the places which enchanted and attracted our youth and in which they gradually lost their identity. There were more places for moral corruption in Tehran than there were libraries. They deprived and stripped our youth of the power typical of the young people so that by denuding our youth from its necessary faculties, they could better plunder our wealth before the eyes of indifferent people.

This was the situation during the past regime. They had taken our youth to places of corruption. All newspapers and magazines here had devoted their whole effort to preaching corruption and so had our radio and television stations. The whole of our mass media had mobilized themselves for wasting our youth. Another plot for ruling the morality of our people was the spread of narcotics and alcohol in our country. Narcotics and alcohol were long in vogue among our youth for our enemies realized that and by making our youth addicted to such things, they could better continue to plunder our wealth. They did not want our youth to ask who was taking away our oil, or how much of it and why. They did not want our youth to ask why there was suppressed in the country and why there was no freedom for the people.

Such were the plans and the conspiracies of imperialism for our country. They had invariably the same conspiracies for your countries. Therefore, it remains your duty as well as the duty of all other people who love their country, who love their nation, and who love Islam to eliminate all these symptoms which have become the principal problems of our countries. Your immediate concern should be to restore the misled brains to their normal course. The universities should provide proper education to the youth if their administrators have faith in Islam. We must do our best to rid our youth from this spirit which

is commonly known here as 'westoxication'.

It is unfortunate that the government seldom shows any concern with these issues. But if they love Islam and their country and their people, they should adopt a different attitude in their approach to the issues. The Moslem countries are vast and rich. They all need you. The super-powers need you. If any day you should use the weapons which you have at your disposal, your enemies would yield. But, despite all this, they continue to plunder our wealth while the governments have become subordinate to the super-powers. This situation now necessitates a reform which could elevate the people to virtues typical of the early Islamic period. Already, our people have become, to some extent, similar to the people of the early Islamic period and this same change was responsible for the triumph of our Revolution. The Iranian nation must serve as a model to other nations. If the people should all decide to find shelter under one single cause, that cause is Islam. The Moslems, with all the resources and wealth which they have, are destined to gain prestige in the entire world. But despite all this, the super-powers do not want such a status for Moslems. Therefore, it remains your duty to increase the consciousness of your people.

I pray to God Almighty for His awakening of the Moslem people and for Moslems to close ranks and feel like brothers and abandon all differences. I also hope that the governments will put an end to differences among themselves.

I hope that God Almighty will eliminate these problems and that the Moslem people will be a whole, unified mass throughout the world.

Peace be upon you, and the Mercy and Blessings of God.

**WE WILL DEFEND OUR COUNTRY AND ISLAM
WITH THE LAST DROP OF OUR BLOOD**

January 12, 1980. In connection with news from Mexico that the Secretary of the Russian Embassy had announced that Iran had requested military assistance from Russia, the following message from Imam Khomeini was published.

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

A few days ago, a paper was published in Tabriz saying that Khomeini had asked for military assistance from Russia. I had supposed that it was an obviously false rumor which someone had written who had a particular intention. Thus, I took no notice of it. But tonight, my attention turned to the Pars News Agency who quoted the French News having said, 'The Secretary of the Russian Embassy in Mexico has announced that the Soviet Union is ready to assist Iran in their stand against U.S. pressure.' He had also mentioned that Russian assistance will also include military assistance. He has clearly stated that such assistance will be given to Iran providing the Iranian Government and Khomeini ask for it. He had also spoken some other nonsense.

I announce to the Islamic Revolutionary Council and the Foreign Ministry of Iran to give notice to the Russian Embassy in Tehran that the words of the Secretary of the Russian Embassy in Mexico should be taken back and the repetition of such insulting matters must certainly be prevented.

The Iranian government and I do not permit the Russian government or any other government to publish such baseless matters which are insulting to our sacred affairs and to the noble people of Iran. The criminals, America and Russia, should know that we stand, with all of our power, against the aggression of any government to our country. We will defend our country and Islam with the last drop of our blood. The repetition of these matters will cause our brave nation to perform acts which will have regrettable consequences for the Russians and may cause us to review the relationship between our government and theirs.

